THE LITERARY HERITAGE OF KASHMIR

K. L. KALLA

The Literary Heritage of Kashmir is an excellent and an indispensable book on the literature of Kashmir. This is mainly because so far, no book on Kashmiri literature has either been written, or edited by anyone.

No doubt Kashmir owes a lot to various Western travellers who, stricken by wanderlust and braving all perils, paid a visit to the vale considered as Paradise on Earth, since ages past, and recorded their impressions about the social, economic, historical and political conditions of the people of this valley. But very few of them, excepting Stein and Grierson, have focused attention on the cultural and literary attainments of the valley. It is shocking to find that Wakefield has, out of ignorance, remarked in his book, "The Happy Valley" (1879) that except for 'Rajatarangini' Kashmir's cultural and literary past is bleak.

The Kashmiri Literature is still unknown to the outside world, and even to the local people. The present volume will, therefore, serve as a useful guide not only to the scholars conducting research in Kashmiri Literature but also to the common readers and even to laymen. The book sufficiently proves the merit of Kashmiri literature; and one can proudly say that it is in no way inferior to the literature of any other State of India.

The editor-cum-author, Prof. Kalla deserves credit for the arduous task of collecting and coalescing the material from various writers, including their copyright material. The book, therefore, fills a missing gap in the literary history of Kashmir which was being felt for long. It is hoped that this book would be widely welcomed by the readers.

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Edited by

K.L. KALLA

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Dedicated

to

The Almighty & Prof. N. K. Kalla

PREFACE

In this volume, the editor has made a modest attempt to present important attributes and authors of Kashmiri literature. The articles in this collection have been written by various authors, each one of whom has tried to focus attention on the writing of a particular writer of the past.

Our literature is still unknown to the outside world, or, even to local people. This book will therefore serve as a useful guide to any reader of Kashmiri Literature.

The book is sufficiently capable of proving the merit of our literature, which can be favourably compared with the literatures of any other State of India.

Thanks to foreign scholars, the study of our ancient literature, history, culture, and social and economic life has become an easy task. The Cultural Academy of the J & K State has, also, played an important role in the development of our literature which is being enriched and enlarged by our budding writers, who are given all incentives.

The different contributors deserve appreciation for the zeal and devotion they displayed in collecting the material from various sources—in fact for salvaging the old authors from the 'sea of oblivion'. It is hoped that this book will be received by the public with approbation as was the case with "*The Culture of Kashmir*" brought out by the editor in 1976.

We, also, take this opportunity to express our deep sense of gratitude to the authors as well as the publishers of all these articles for permission to publish them in this book.

Without their cooperation, it would not have been possible to place this book in the hands of the lovers of Kashmiri literature.

Last but not least we should, also, express our gratitude to Mittal Publications, 1856, Trinagar, Delhi for taking up the publication of this book and to their editor Mr. B.N. Bahuguna for his valuable suggestions.

K. L. KALLA

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CHAPTER 1

OUR GLORIOUS HERITAGE

K. L. Kalla

The valley of Kashmir is a blessed valley beacuse of its indescribable beauty...its lakes, rivers, rivulets, lush green landscape, verdant hills, against the backdrop of lofty snow covered Himalayan ranges. "There is such a lyric charm about it with its softness, its gentleness and its dreamlike quality that it is difficult to believe that such a place exists in this mundane world. Its other blessing is its rich and perfect climate. Here, all the seasons are well marked. The third blessing of the valley is its people...they appear to be the product of their environment. "Foreign influences have penetrated into the valley from time to time, but they came more by way of trade and other peaceful means. The old silk route to Central Asia passed through this valley, and this helped in the introduction of new ideas and fresh cultural element from Central Asia.

The main religions of the valley, in former times, were Buddhism and various forms of Hinduism. Most probably, Buddhism entered into Central Asia from this valley. For a long time two religions lived side by side and these not only reacted on each other but, also, evolved identical forms of religious practice. Islam was introduced here through the gentle persuasion of Sufi Saints, and by and by, it got identified with ruling classes.

In order to study ancient society of Kashmir, one must depend on Kalhana's "RAJATARANGINI" and "NEELMATA PURANA". The latter, is a very interesting study of Kashmir's economic life, including means of culture and finer arts such as music, dancing, theatrical performances and sports, arts and crafts, dresses and ornaments, cosmetics, food and drinks, domesticated animals, culture and trade, festivals and religious practices, philosophy and languages. These two books can safely be depended upon as the sources of the history of ancient Kashmir.

There was a system of writing history even in very ancient times, but it was very different from the system that was introduced in later times. The modern system has its origin in Greece.

Throughout history the Kashmiris seem to have been interested in cultural pursuits. Many ancient scholars appeared on the literary firmament of Kashmir to make lasting contributions to knowledge and culture. Sir George Grierson in his "Linguistic Survey of India" Vol. II, writes "for upwards of 2000 years, Kashmir has been the home of Sanskrit learning and from this small valley have issued masterpieces of history, poetry, romance, fable and philosophy. Kashmiris are proud of the literary glories of their land. For centuries, it was the home of greatest Sanskrit scholars, and, at least, one great Indian religion, Saivism, has found some of its most eloquent teachers on the banks of the Vitasta. Some of the greatest Sanskrit scholars were born and wrote in the valley, and from it has issued the Sanskrit language and a world famous collection of folklores."

Even Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* emphasises the importance that people attached to learning. According to him learning was one of the five things for which the valley was reputed. He says, "Learning, lofty homes, saffron, icewater and grapes; things that in heaven are difficult to find are common here."[1] Hieun Tsang, the Chinese Pilgrim to India who visited Kashmir in 631 A.D. wrote, "The people of Kashmir love learning and are well-cultured. Since centuries, learning has been held in great respect in Kashmir."[2] In the 11th century, Alburini, the great Arabic scholar who followed Mahmud Ghazanavi to

India said about Kashmiris that their land "is a high school of Hindu Sciences."[3]

The knowledge of Sanskrit seems to have reached high peaks. The scholars developed their own alphabet, called the 'Sarada'. Sarada characters for the writing of Sanskrit books which is entirely different from the Devnagri script. Before the introduction of paper in Kashmir, people used birch bark for writings and governmental correspondence...Sanskrit continued to hold ground for sometime even during the early Muslim rule, although Persian had become the "*lingua franca*" in the valley. We have it from Abul Fazal that "Brahman class is very numerous. Although Kashmir has a dialect of its own, their learned books are in Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for manuscript work and they write on "taz" which is the bark of a tree".[4]

From early times, scholars and students from India trekked all along to Kashmir to complete their higher studies in Sanskrit. Probably, they received *Patras* or certificates by the then Sanskrit Universities of Kashmir. The great seats of Sanskrit learning in Ancient Kashmir were at SARDA, now in Pakistan, and at Vijeshwara, the present day Bijbehara. There used to be a great influx of scholars and according to Kalhana, hostels and *Viharas* were erected by the ruling families for the residence of scholars hailing from different parts of India. Queen Amrita Prabha "caused a lofty Vihara called Amritabhavan to be constructed for the benefit of foreign students".[5] King Yasaskara (936-48 A. D.) fond of endowments built on a piece of land a *Matha* for students from Arya Desha, who were devoting themselves to knowledge".[6] Again, queen Dida (981-1003 A.D.) founded a "convent for the people of Madhyadesha". In addition, she "built a Vihara for the people of Plains". She built another convent for the residence of scholars from the plains".[7]

According to Kalhana, "an astrologer, a doctor, a councillor, a teacher, a minister, a purohit, an ambassador, a judge, a clerk —none of them was without learning".[8] Scholarship was liberally rewarded and scholars greatly respected. It is, also, recorded that "the scholars who were granted great fortunes and high honours proceeded to the Sabha in vehicles".[9] Sanskrit was introduced in the valley by Indo-Aryans, and it slowly became the language of religion and literature. With the coming of Buddhism in the valley, in the time of Ashoka, Buddhist literature and religious books were written in Sanskrit, while in India the same was done in Pali. Moreover, the city of Kuchha, in Central Asia, which was the headquarters of Kashmiri missionaries, got transferred into a great centre of Sanskrit learning. Many Sanskrit manuscripts then written have been discovered in many parts of Central Asia. The only Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit discovered in India, are those of the Gilgit Collection, which have been edited and translated into English by the Research Department of the J. & K. State. There was also "a regular stream of pilgrims and scholars from Central Asia and China to study Sanskrit texts in Kashmir. Many Sanskrit manuscripts were reposited in the libraries of temples and *Viharas*. Dr. George Buhler who visited Kashmir, in 1875 in search of manuscripts, found that many pandits, traders, and officials were "in Possession of considerable collection of manuscripts".[10]

The valley of Kashmir has been a famous seat of learning (SHARDA PEETHA), besides being known as 'Paradise on earth". Prof. Dharmendra Nath Pal (1904), has been of the opinion that "the particular area in Asia which covers Kashmir and the Tibet tableau was the cradle of human race. Adelung, the father of comparative philosophy, also, rendered Kashmir as "the cradle of mankind, in the valley of Kashmir." In ancient times, Kashmir had, at least, two big universities—one at Sarda, another at Chakdar (Bijbehara). These were similar to those at Nalanda, Texila and Ajanta. In ancient literature of Kashmir, mention is made of Vidya Matha, Vidyarthinam Matha, Shaiva Mathas, various schools and colleges of learning and Maittuka Gurus. According to Kalhana, numerous monasteries were built by the Buddhist monks and king Pravarsena's maternal uncle Jayendra. Here Hieun Tsang is known to have studied. The Vihara has been located by scholars at present day Jama Masjid.

Kashmir's contribution to the Buddhist ideology and culture stands first in chronological order. Ashoka sent Madyantika'a preacher to Kashmir to propagate the new faith. He founded 12 Viharas. According to Hieun Tsang, 500 monks had come to Kashmir during the time of Ashoka. The great Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir, in Kundala-Vana-Vihara, in Kanishka's time, in the first century A.D. (78 to 102 A.D.). Ashvaghosha is said to have been brought by Kanishka from Patliputra to Kashmir to function as the Vice-President of the Council. The "Greater Vehicle of the Law" was drawn up here by the Buddhist theologians. The reputed Kashmiri author, Naga Sena wrote one important Buddhist work, "Milinda-Panha" a conversation between Theravadan and the Bacterian king of North India.

Numerous Kashmiri Buddhist scholars have written original works in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and, even, translated these into Chinese. In 4th century A.D., Kumarajiva went to Kucha, and from there to China. Some Kashmiri scholars who contributed to Buddhism are—Buddhayasha, Dharamayasha, Gunavarman, Dharmarakasha, Saghabhatta, Gautama Sanghadeva, Jinamitra, Dhanashilla, and Ananda. Scholars from China who came to Kashmir are Che-yan, Che-Mong, Fa-Yong, and Hiuen Tsang.

Kashmir had, also, played an important role in the development of Indian Literature. It is the homeland of Alankara Shastara (Rhetoric). Vamana (750-800 A.D.) is the founder of the Riti School. Udbhatta (774-813 A.D.) is the teacher of the theory of three Vittis ; Rudhratta (800-900 A.D.) expounded the theory of figures. Ananda Verdhana (850-900 A.D.) is the founder of the school of the Doctrine of Dhvani (Suggestion). Mammotta (about 1100 A.D.) is the upholder of the theory of Rasa (Sentiment). Abhinava Gupta (1000-1100 A.D.) is the expounder of the 'theory of Rasa Dhvani' and the Pratyabhijna Shastra and Mahima Bhatta, Kayyatha and Ruyyaka (11th Century) were the renowned rhetoricians. The rhetorical works of Bilhana, Kalhana, Jonaraja, Shrivara, Prajabatha and Shuka are remarkable. Kalidasa is said to have been a native of Kashmir.[11] Patanjali, Pingala are, also, said to be Kashmiris. So, also, Charaka (who wrote 'Charka Samhita') and other poets like Pravarsena, prolific writers like Kashendra, Ratnakara, Shivaswamin, Abhinanda Mankha, Somadeva and others were Kashmiris. Kashyapa Muni is said to have written a treatise on agriculture, and Lilavati has made a name in mathematics.

Kashmir has contributed a lot to Paratyabhijna system of Kashmir Shaivism. It has originated by Somananda, Utpaladeva and Abhinanda Gupta (9th-12th A.D.). Kalhana wrote his famous work in 1148-49 A.D. He must have born by about the beginning of the 12th century at Parihaspura, in Kashmir. In the chronicle we meet a person, named 'Champaka' who is held in esteem by Kalhana Pandit. He is described as the lord of the gate—Commander of frontier defences, in the later part of Harsha's reign. Perhaps, he was Kalhan's father. Although, Nilamata Purana has furnished us with an account of the birth of Kashmir valley after the drainage of Sati-Sara., it is Kalhana who deserves credit for writing the history of this land with the available data, from the earliest to his day. This history deals not only with the history of monarchs, but, also, with that of the people. It is no exaggeration to say that Kalhana was both a historian and a master poet (*Kavi*). 'Rajataringini' is full of information regarding the conditions of ancient Kashmir. He had an observant eye and thorough training. He had studied carefully the "Vikraman Kadevacharita", the historical Kavya of his fellow countryman, Bilhana towards the last quarter of the 11th century. He had, also, studied Bana's 'Harshacharita' and he had, also, knowledge of Mahabharatha. Besides, he was a prominent 'Kavi' of his time. He makes a brief review of all the earlier compositions in the first Canto of 'Rajatarangini'. Like a good historian, he has made use of inscriptions and other antiquarian evidences before writing *Rajatarangini*, his famous book of history. Mr. M.A. Stein was the first person who translated it into English.

Islam came to Kashmir in the 14th century. Kashmir became the homeland of *Suffism* from the middle of the 14th century. The Suffi doctrine imparted to the native Kashmir Philosophy many new values, and the result was 'Shaiva cum Suffi Doctrine'. This brought forth a rich heritage of humanism and universal brotherhood."[12] The advent of Islam made such an impression, especially in the North, that conversion to it did not render extinct the prevailing culture, but provided good opportunities for fostering intimate relations, between the two cultures. The Muslims adopted ancient Hindu culture and gave in return some of their own to the Hindus to adopt. There was a blending of cultures which in no way destroyed the ancient culture. Sir J. Marshall has observed, "Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar, as the Hindus and Muslims, meeting and mingling together". Folk dances and folklore received special attention and the ancient works like 'Katha Sagar' and 'Brahat Katha' were translated into Persian and Turkish. The noble King Zain-ul-Abidin (Bad Shah), also, played a special role in embracing and upholding Kashmiri culture. Speaking about the king, the court historian, Pt. Zona Raj has observed, "The King, sitting on a lotus throne in the form of Lord Ganesha, studied the ancient works of Rishis and visited with all devotion all 'Tirthas', observing all Hindu customs. During the last few years of his life, the court physician Shri Bhat read out to him verses from *Panchastavi*, written by Pandit Dharmacharya. The Kashmiri Pandits made a name in Persian prose and poetry. Mohd. Azam Dedamari has given a full account of the Hindu and Muslim saints and philosophers that lived during the Muslim period and helped to create unity among all sections of people. Lal Ded, Shahzanandji (popularly known as Nund Rishi, or Sheikh Noor. Din-Wali), Rupa Bhawani, and great poets and writers like Raj Kak, Arzbed, Rasul Mir, Mohd. Gami, Permanand ji, Sahib Koul, Master Zinda Koul, Har Gopal Koul, Arnimal, Bawani Das Kachroo, Mehjoor and many others preached the message of brotherhood, one idea and one ideal. Both Hindu and Muslim school of Suffism glorified Kashmiri precepts.

So, it is a truth, that "men are emigrants from a common origin. They spread out, settled in various zones and developed a living, influenced by natural resources. The races have undergone minor modifications as a result of migrations that exposed them to different environments and led them to adopt different ways of life—a culture was born". Sir William Jones was the pioneer of Sanskrit studies in the West and credit goes to him for founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1784. In

1789, he published translation of *Shakuntala*, and later, the Code of Manu. The Kashmir Research Department was founded in the reign of late Maharaja Pratap Singh. Its aim was to carry out the study of researches into ancient history, literature, arts and sciences of the country. A collection of ancient manuscripts which originated in Kashmir was made in this State and also in Banaras. By and by, copies of all Kashmirian Sanskrit works were obtained since 1861 onwards. Gradually, it grew into a Research Institute and great scholars like Grierson and Dr. Stein were attached to it. In 1942, this Institute was converted into "The Kashmir Research Department". During Maharaja Ranbir Singh's rule, works in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic were translated. Dr. Stein started making catalogue of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Tibetan and other languages in a monastery library of Ladakh. Dr. Grierson suggested translation of numerous manuscripts in Kashmiri. In 1875, Dr. G. Buhler was deputed by Govt. of India to collect manuscripts in Kasmir, Rajputana and Central Asia. In Kashmir, he discovered a manuscript named, "Shaiva Shastras". He divided these into two classes of Shaiva Schools. "Spanda Shastra" of Vasugupta and the "Pratyabhijna Shastra" of Somananda and Utpaladeva. Mr. J.C. Chatterji, the Director was the first to work on this. Since 1902, about 80 volumes have been published. Some of these are: (1) *Shiva Sutra Vimarashini*, by Vasu Gupta, with commentary by Khemraj, (2) Ancient Hindu Law, named *Anviraprayas Chitta Nibhandha*, (3) *History, Doctrine of the Advaita, Shaiva School of Kashmir*, by Mr. J.C. Chatterji, (4) *Premarthasra* of Abhinavagupta, (5) *Lalleshwari Vakyani* was translated by M.A. Stein, (6) *The Hindu Realism*, by J.C. Chatterji, (7) *The Gilgit Manuscripts* was edited by Nilinaksha.

This literature attracted the attention of outside scholars such as L.D. Barnett, P.T. Srinivasa Ayengar, K.C. Pandey, Rev. Emil Baer, Kurt F. Leidecker and J. Dulle. Some local scholars who worked on this literature are M.R.C. Kak, Madhushudhan Koul, Harbhatta Shastri etc.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Raj. Book I, verse 42.
2. Life of Heun Tsang, translated by Beal.
3. India—translated by Saucha).
4. "Ain-i-Akbari" —translated by Jerret.
5. Raj, Book III, verse 9.
6. Raj, Book VI, verse 87.
7. Raj, Book VI, verses 300, 301, 302.
8. Raj, Book VI, verse 13.
9. Raj, Book V, verse 33.
10. George Buhler...Poona manuscripts Catt. 1875, 11, No. 143.
11. See Prof. Lacchmi Dhar's work, "The birth place of Kalidasa".
12. Refer to, 'Encyclopaedia of Islam. Religion and Ethics, Vol. 12—Suffism' by A.J. Arberry.

CHAPTER 2

THE CULTURE OF KASHMIR

K.L. Kalla

It has been singularly fortunate for Kashmir to have received numerous foreign travellers, in the past, for they have recorded wonderful impressions of their travels through the valley. Francois Bernier was the French Physician to the Mughal Court, at Delhi, since the seventeeth century. He is all praise for the beauty of Kashmir, its streams, mountains, its gardens, villages, meadows, vineyards, fruits, and people as a whole. Among other foreign visitors, mention may be made of the Italian Hoppolyte Desidei (1714), an Englishman Forster (1783), an English traveller Vigne (1842), and many others. Most of them have not only studied but also translated the folklore, the mythology and ancient literature of this place. In 1890 Lawrence was the first traveller who noted the miserable condition of the people of the valley. Another famous explorer Younghusband, wrote in 1817, in "lyrical abandon" of the beauty spots of the valley. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who visited Kashmir, in 1916, was so much fascinated by the charm of the valley that he made mention of it in his "Autobiography". His reaction was, "I had an exciting experience during this visit."

What is peculiar to Kashmir is that many festivals like the NAUROZ, DUSSERAH etc., are celebrated in common by various communities, and this also accounts for their sense tolerance and goodwill. This also shows the communal harmony of the people, which Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, praised very much in 1947, when communal disturbances had caused ruin in many parts of the country. In ancient Kashmir, there lived not only Brahmins, but also other sects, called Nishads, Khashars, Dards, Bhuttas, Bhikshas, Damaras, etc. The culture of Kashmir is said to have been influenced by many civilizations, such as the ancient Indian, the Roman, the Greek and the Persian. Up to the thirteenth century Hinduism flourished, along with Buddhism. A new social order came into existence at this time with the advent of Islam. Among the famous ancient kings of Kashmir mention may be made of Lalitaditya (724-760, A.D.) and Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1422-1474), called BADSHAH for his benevolence.

The contribution made by Kashmir to Indian Culture has been considerable. Kalhana and Bilhana are noted for their historical works. In other fields also contribution made by Kashmir has been great. The Kashmiri language can claim unique position among the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Both Hindus and Muslims equally "hold in reverence the Hindu shrines and the Muslim Khanqahs situated closely to each other. After the advent of Islam, the Muslims adopted a few Hindu customs, giving in return some of their own to be adopted by the Hindus". This resulted in cultural fusion. Kashmir Shaivism was developed between the 7th and the 12th centuries and it is "the most highly developed schools of Indian philosophy".

Ancient Kashmiri literature is found in abundance mostly in verse form. In the first period (i.e till about 1555) we have Shri Kantha's MAHAANY PRAKASH, Lal Ded's and Sheikh Nurud Din Wali's WAAKH and Bhattavataars BANASURA KATHA. This literature was composed up to 1555. During the period 1555 to 1752 (second period) Persian was firmly established as the official as well as the language of literature. The eminent writers of this period are Mirza Kamal-ud-Din Kamil and Khawaja Habib Ullah Nowsheri. During the third period

(1752-1923), poetry took new forms—romance, stories, legends of love and adventures. Maqbool Shah Kraalwary, Lassa Khan, Mahmood Gami, Krishna Razdan, Parmanand belong to this period. The fourth period (1925-47) is the Age of Mehjoor, and his poetry has melodious language, the theme being patriotic. Among the modern writers mention may be made of Master Zinda Koul, D. N. Nadim, Abd-ur-Rehmaan Rahi and Ghulam Nabi Firaq. From ancient times Kashmir has been the centre of art, literature and learning. The art of drama is also very ancient. In fact, it has its origin in the dramatic performance by BAANDS, who moved from house to house, entertaining people by dance and song, on good occasions. But, they were not respected in society. Later on, actors performed in Society RASLILA and in course of time it gave rise to another form of drama called PATHER, which was full of satire and humour. Next religious stories began to be enacted. After independence, the Kashmiri writers began writing seriously. The dramatic performances concentrated on the exigencies of propaganda. By and by, many plays, skits, shadow plays and operas were written by NADAM, AKHTAR MOHI-UD-DIN KAMIL AND ROSHAN. Since 1958, the State Academy of Art, Literature and Languages has been organising play competitions every year, in Tagore Hall Srinagar and prizes have been awarded. ZOO-NADAB is, yet another landmark as radio feature. It raises problems that an individual faces in daily life.

The tradition of story telling in Kashmir is, perhaps, as ancient in any Indian language. But, it is a sad fact that no story in Kashmiri, had been written until the middle of the 20th Century. The first Kashmiri story was written by Som Nath Zutshi. Later on, D. N. Nadim, Noor Mohd Roshan and S.N. Zutshi also started writing story in Kashmiri. Most of these stories conveyed progressive ideas and did not deal with Kashmiri social life. To Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din goes the credit of using Kashmiri characters and social life and problems around him. Humour and satire are found in abundance in these. Other writers who write stories in Kashmiri are Amin Kamil, Ali Mohd Lone and Bansi Nirdosh, Ghulam Nabi Shakir, Umesh Koul, Late Dr. Shankar Raina etc.

Music of Kashmir is called SUFIANA KALAM. It is difficult to say how and when it originated because Kashmiri music shows elements of Indian and Iranian music. After the advent of Islam, Kashmiri music seems to have been influenced by Iranian music. The musical instruments SANTUR used in Kashmir was invented in Iran. Many Ragaas or MUKAMS of Kashmiri music are present in Persian *i.e.* MUKAM DUGA, MUKAM NAWA and SINGHA. In the same manner many Persian words are present in Kashmiri TALAS SOTHAL, NEEMDOR CHAPANDOZ etc. Before beginning with the singing of MUKAM or RAGA, the verses of Sheikh Allah of Hazrat and of saint Lalleshwari were sung without TALL. Some important Suffiana Musicians are : Late Ustad Ramzan, G.M. Kalinbaft and M.A. Tibatbakal. Besides, Suffiana music, CHAKRI and ROFF are other forms of Kashmiri music.

The people of Kashmir, both Hindus, and Muslims alike have their rituals and ceremonies which may differ from those of people outside Kashmir. Kashmiri social customs are generally connected with both marriage and death Of course, due to the changing living conditions, these rituals have also undergone change. The rituals of Pandits are : KAHNETHAR, ZARAKASAI, YAGNOPAVIT, MANZIRAT, DIVAGON AND LAGAN. In winter KICHRI AMAVAS GADBHATA are observed. Similarly, the rituals of Muslims such as AZAN, TAKIR, SUNDAR and FATIHA, are performed on different occasions.

Kashmir has been called from ancient times as RISHIBHUMI. The first RISHI KASHYPA is said to have performed prayers and penances as a result of which the valley of Kashmir came into being. In historical times we first come across sages and savants of highest order who lived here soon after the advent of Buddhism. The fourth Buddhist Council was convoked by Kanishka, in the last quarter of the first century A.D. Many Buddhist scholars from outside are said to have attended its deliberations. Among Muslim Saints, after the advent of Islam, in the 13th Century A.D. Muslims Rishis, the Babas, Saiyids and Pirzadas are the chief preachers of Islam. But the SAIYIDS stand first in the hierarchy, the prominent among them being, DASTGIR SAHAB, NAKSHBANDA SAHAB and HAMDAN SAHAB, NUR-UD-SAHAB was primarily a Kashmiri. Besides the Muslim Saints, there are a number of PIRS, FAKIRS and DARVESHS in Kashmir. Among the Hindu saints mention may be made of Lalleshvari, Rupa Bhawani, Rishipir, and Swami Grata Bab, Mahyakak, Gopi Nath Bhagwan, Kashi Nath, Vidya Dhar, Sona Kak and Swami Ramju and Sumbli Baba. Mirakh Shah Sahab was a Muslim Saint.

The people of different regions in Kashmir wear different kinds of dress, that suit the climatic condition of those places. The dress of a Kashmiri at home is called 'Feran'. On hills Gojars and Bakarwals wear 'Dastar' Ktura, Yezar and Sadri, A Pandit wears loose trousers and a turban while a Panditani puts on a Frock, Sari, Dhoti, Jamper and an old lady wears 'Taranga' on her head. A Muslim Lady wears a Kasaba. Kashmiri boys and girls are adept in adopting the fashions from the other parts of India.

Winter is the season of hardships and poverty to the people of Kashmir. To keep off poverty, cottage industries were introduced by Budshah, Zain-ul-Abidin. These industries are Shawl Making, Carpet Weaving, Embroidery, Papier Machie, Wood Carving, Silver Ware etc. During the long winter season, the poor craftsman is thus enabled to earn his living. The old ladies ply the Charkha and produce Pashmina. The people's Government, after 1947, has set up Kashmir Government Arts Emporium to encourage the Craftsmen in various ways by giving them loans and paying good return for their goods.

Kashmiris had in the past, sports or games of their own which were cheap and suited their social set-up. These are : (1) SAZA LONG (2) SAZA KATIR (3) TULI LANGUN (4) GRATA PAL (5) GOR MAJI GORAS AND (6) KABBADI. All these games sustained our Society in the past during periods of slavery and poverty. But, now, these have been replaced by sophisticated modern games like Football, Hockey, Badminton, Cricket and Chess, which are getting popular.

Some monuments and picnic spots worth seeing in Kashmir are the Mughal Gardens, Pahalgam, Gulmarg, The House boats and Saffron which are the objects of tourist attraction. The Houseboats are the summer houses of visitors. Saffron flowers are used in Pampur. Kangri, the common mans's favourite device against bitter cold is the Queen of Winter in Kashmir. It is a portable firepot without which no Kashmiri can live in winter.

The Kashmiri culture has a composite character, being an ingredient of Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist elements. It is noted for unique architectural and archaeological monuments, which have been so eloquently described in *The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* by R.C. Kak. According to Walter Lawrence, "I have rarely been in any village which cannot show some relics of antiquity. Curious stone monuments of the old Kashmiri Temples (Kulr-Murli), Huge stone seats of Mahadev (Badri Nath), phallic emblems, innumerable carved images heaped in grotesque confusion by some clear spring have met me at every term. They were the works of the Buddhist or the Pandus— when one comes to the most recent period of the Mughals, tradition becomes more definite. And I have seen many mosques built in a style unlike the present, of wooden beams with stones between, mostly raised by Aurang Zeb. Some of the important archaeological remains are at Awanti Pur, Martand temples at Mattan, Budshah's Tomb at Srinagar, the caves at Bhumju, the ruins at Narasthan, the ancient Hindu Temple at Pandrethan, the Temple ruins at Pattan, the ancient temple at Payech and Takht-i-Suliman and the Shanker Acharaya Temple. Kashmirian architecture has been found by scholars to resemble various Grecian Orders". Other architectural specimens are to be found at Ushkar, at Harwan. According to Mr. R.C. Kak, the mediaeval architecture of Kashmir depends for its effect upon : (1) The simplicity and unity of its design, (2) The massiveness of its blocks of lime stone and granite that were used, (3) The finish of drawing and (4) Last but not the least, the natural beauty of the site chosen for erection of the temple. Its main feature is a happy combination of the column and the arch. The Muslims in Kashmir were at the beginning too few to imitate an architecture of their own. The most characteristic example of their style are the Mosque at Madin Sahib near Hari Parbat and the ruins of the Mosque at Vicharnag and Zain-ul-Abidin's Mosque on the island in the Wular Lake.

From the foregoing description it becomes evident that the Culture of Kashmir has been unique, is still so in a number of ways. First of all, the roots of our culture were sown in very ancient time when most of the westerners were no better than barbarians. Secondly, our cultural heritage is variegated and not confined to one branch of literature, philosophy or art. That our culture could flourish despite many hardships and catastrophies in the face of foreign invasions bears testimony to courage and perseverance of our ancestors. The valley of Kashmir has, therefore, amply been called SHARDA PEETHA, or the seat of learning, besides being popularly known as "Paradise on Earth". It has even been believed by some scholars to be the originating centre of civilisation. Prof. Dharmendra Nath Pal upheld the view as early as in 1904 that the particular area in Asia which covers Kashmir and the Tibet table lands was the cradle of Civilisation. ADELUNG, the Father of comparative philology placed the cradle of mankind in the valley of Kashmir. "Kashmir has even attracted scholars from various Countries in the past who studied at two Universities of SHARDA and CHAKDAR. Besides there were also present Vidya-mathas and VIHARAS. Buddhism was in vogue here before Ashoka's times (273-232 B.C.) and Kanishaka convened the fourth Buddhist Council here. So Buddhist thought was nurtured in Kashmir". Kashmir Shaivism (the PRATYABHIJNA) is distinct from Indian Shaivism. Kashmiris have also made an important contribution to Sanskrit Literature and Indian Poetics. It has been the home land of "Alankara Shastra" (Rhetoric). Out of the sixteen most famous rhetoricians of India, Kashmir has produced fourteen and the rest of India only two. Vamana (750-800 A.D.), Udbhatta (774-813 A.D.), Rudratta (800-900 A.D.) and Maminatta (1000-1100 A.D.) etc. were the most renowned ones who came from ancient Kashmir. Patanjali and Paingla were Kashmiris. Many ancient Kashmiris have made valuable contribution to Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine and Agriculture.

In 1947, when India and Kashmir achieved independence, a fillip to the reformation of Kashmir's glory was provided by the Government, by setting up the Academy of Arts and Culture. A lot of literature in Kashmir has been collated and compiled and our literature can compete with any other Indian literatures on pure merits. In short, no one can deny the glory of our past and present culture.

CHAPTER 3

SOME IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF KASHMIRI AS A LANGUAGE

S.K. Toshakhani

Unique, in some respects, is the place that Kashmiri can claim among the modern Indo-Aryan languages. To a linguist, its importance can hardly be exaggerated. It lies in the first instance, in its antiquity which may well go back to the Vedic times if not to some period earlier still and as such it bids fair to provide the key to many a problem that at present baffles the linguist and the Indologist. This may sound a tail claim but a little reflexion will show that it is not altogether ill-founded. Let us, for instance take the expression *Yodvai*, meaning 'if', 'although'. The corresponding word current in most modern Indian languages of Aryan origin is *Yadi* but not *Yodvai.* Though both these are Sanskrit words the latter (Yodvai) is archaic and is to be come across mainly in the Vedas, the oldest extant books written in any Indo-aryan language. The expression as it occurs in the Vedas is *Yad-u-vai* which due to retroactive effect of *u* on *a* naturally changes to *Yodvai*, the form in which it is current in Kashmiri even today. Again, the Kashmir *Van* (—un) 'to speak' is as old as the Vedas but as such is not to be found in any modern Indian, or for the matter of that, Indo-Iranian language. Nor are these stray cases. When we come to mimerals we find that Kashmiri alone of all the modern Indian languages preserves the *dvi* (Kashmiri *du*) of Sanskrit in such numbers as *dusatath* (Sanskrit *dvisaptati*), *dunamat* (Sanskrit *dvanavatih*) and so on. In all other Indian languages that are Aryan in origin '*dvi*' has been replaced by '*b*' or '*bi*' as in 'bahattar' (seventy-two) 'biyasi' (eighty-two) and so on. Yet the '*b*' form too survives in the Kashmiri words, '*beyi*' (secondly or again) and '*ba'h*' (twelve).

I have referred above to the possibility of Kashmiri dating back to a period remoter than the Vedic. The two Kashmiri words '*rost*' (excluding) and '*sost*' (including) correspond to sanskrit '*rahit*' and '*salit*' expressions that we come across in the same from even in the Vedas. Obviously '*rost*' and '*sost*' are pre-Vedic as the transition from '*s*' and '*s*' to '*h*' is admittedly a later incident. Now let us take the Kashmiri word '*pheran*' meaning a 'cloak', the kind of tunic worn by Kashmiris now or its predecessor. This word is not to be found in just this form in any of the Indo-Iranian languages. Yet strongly enough but for the elision of the initial vowel it closely resembles the Greek word '*pheron*' from which the English word '*apron*' derives. It is argued by some well meaning people that the word '*pheron*' comes from the Sanskrit word '*paridhan*', to which is also related the Iranian or Persian word '*pairahan*' (dress). One can further say in favour of this view that a soft aspirated consonant changes often to '*h*' in most Indian languages. But that is exactly not the case with Kashmiri. In the latter case the soft aspirated consonants change to corresponding unaspirated ones of the same group. For example Sanskrit '*bhu bhav*' to 'be, become' change to '*ho*' 'hav' in Hindi but in Kashmiri the word changes to '*bav*' of '*yi bavi na*' in Kashmiri to '*ya nahin ho ga*' in Hindi. In the course of ages a word must undergo phonetic changes but the Kashmiri '*pheran*' and the Greek '*epheron*' resemble each other without any significant change having taken place to show that either of them are direct descendants of either Avestan or Vedic. Does it not stand to reason, therefore, that both the Greeks and Kashmiris got the word direct from '*viros*' the parent of all Indo-European languages ? In this connection it may not be out of place to point out that in some parts of Kashmir we have the word '*luna*' corresponding to the Latin word 'Luni' meaning 'moon' and. occurring even in such English words as 'lunar', 'lunatic' and so on. The few words that have been pointed out above to show as having a bearing on the antiquity of Kashmir dating to a time remoter than the 'Vedas' are only illustrative but by no means do these exhaust the list.

It is said on high authority that Kashmiri is of Dardic or Shina source. Dardic or Shina are Aryan languages but the vocabulary of either while closely related to Sanskrit is associated with that part of the latter on which the modern Indo-Aryan languages do not draw to whereas on which Kashmiri in common with other Indo-Aryan languages does depend. Let us, for example, take the Kashmiri words '*poni*' (base pani) and '*zal*' both meaning water, '*danya*' (paddy) and '*gur*' (horse). These correspond to the cognate words found in other Indian languages as are derived from the Sanskrit words 'paniya', *jala* '*dhanya*' and '*ghotaka*' having the same meanings respectively whereas the *Shina* words for the same are related to the Sanskrit '*vari*', '*bribi*' and '*ashva*' respectively. No does Shina share with Kashmiri its umlaut or the matra-system. This is not the place to go in detail into the question of the origin of Kashmiri. Suffice it to say that in 1940 the present writer went all the way from Srinagar to Gilgit on his own to investigate the problem and was convinced that Sir George Grierson's conclusion about the relationship of Kashmiri to Shina or Dardic are not warranted, though the geographical proximity of Dardic to Kashmiri speaking part of the Indian sub-continent must have resulted in some exchange of words between the two.

Coming now to intonation and other factors of melody we find that the '*udatta*', '*anudatta*' and '*svarita*', that is, the '*high*', '*low*' and circumflex tones of the Vedic Hymns have their echo in the Kashmiri hymns as chanted by women on the occasion of the *Yagneopavit* (sacred thread) ceremony of Kashmiri Brahmans. No other modern Indo-Aryan language has preserved these Vedic forms of intonation. The others have their classical and lighter music. Nor is Kashmiri a stranger to such melodies either as is evident from the classical setting of the metrical sayings of Lal Ded, the lilt of the lyrics in Banasura Vadh by Avatar Bhatta of the 15th century and from the popular songs sung in the '*rohv*' (rof) and chakkar styles. Over and above such melodies we have the sufiana music borrowed and adopted from the neighbouring countries. The phonology of Kashmiri is very interesting indeed. The laws that govern the phenomenon of change of sounds in Kashmiri, as words are adopted from other languages or as the inherited stock of them undergo transformation through the ages, are very regular on the whole. The *umlaut* is more fully developed than in the Indo-German languages of Europe of which it is said to be a special feature. Not only do the vowels change but the consonants also conform to bring about an assonance that is not only pleasant to the ear but also irresistably regular so as to facilitate articulation. Such a phenomenon is not something haphazard but depends on the demands of the organs of speech and hearing due to the final matra-vowel in which all the components of a word terminate. The vowels change from the upper to the lower set, the guttarals to palatals and the dentals to dental fricatives depending on the terminal *matra*-vowel or roughly on gender with a regularity and precision in correspondance that is astounding. The hard unasperated and asperated consonants of the guttaral or dental group change respectively to hard unasperated and asperated palatals or dental fricatives as the case may be ; similarly, the soft consonants. Thus k, kh, g change to ch, chh, j and dental t, th, d, n to dental fricatives *ts*, *tsh*, *z*, *ñ*. Examples, *pok* (ripe) gives way to *pach*, *dokh* (support) to *dachh* and *log* (came into contact) to *laj*. Similarly *tot* (hot) changes to *tats*, *voth* (he got up) to *vatsh* (she got up), *dod* (he got burnt) to *daz* (she got burnt) and *ton* (thin) to *tañ* corresponding roughly to change of gender.

The inherited words from Sanskrit change their asperated sibilants to 'h' for example *sat* (hundred) changes to *hat*, *sak* to *hak* (a pot herb), the palatals d & t change to 'r', for example *nād* to *nār* (ravine) and Bhattaraka to Bror (base, brār). The soft aspirated consonants change to corresponding unaspirated ones e.g. 'gh' to 'g', 'jh' to 'j' 'b' to 'bh' and 'dh' to 'd' as in the case of a change from *ghonas* (viper) to *gunas*, *jharjharita* (worn out) to *zazarit* and '*dhana*' (wealth) to '*dana*' and so on.

The short vowel 'u' changes to 'o' *e.g.* *putra* to *potra* or *pothar* (a son), e to long 'i' as in the case of *deva* to *div* and so on. The semi-vowels v and y are introduced to assist the articulation of 'u' and 'i' short and long cf, *insan* (man) *Īśvara* (God) being pronounced as *yinsan* and *yīśvara* and *umed* (hope) and *uttam* (highest) as *vomed* and *votam.*

Even when pronouncing Sanskrit or Persian, this tendency seems to prevail, '*vapo putro mitro*' is read '*vopo potro metro*' and '*ta' al ullah chi davlat darrm imshab*' is read as '*tal ollah chī dolath daram yimshab*' and so on.

The syntax of Kashmiri also is not without its special significance. The sequence of words in a Kashmiri sentence is very much the same as in English. For example, 'I went there' may be translated '*bo* (I) *gos* (went) *tot* (there)' in Kashmiri.

The syntax of Persian agrees with that of Hindustani but differs from English and Kashmiri. The above English sentence done into Persian and Hindustani will run thus : Hindustani, '*main* (I) *vahan* (there) *gaya* (went)', Persian, '*man* (I) *unja* (there) *raftam* (went)'. In another respect the formation of agglutinative verbs combining pronominal subject and in themselves is very common. In fact such verbs are sentences rather than words. For example '*dyut may*' in Kashmiri '*dadamat*' in Persian both mean 'I gave it thee'. But the analytical forms are also there. The vocables '*dyutmai*' and '*dadamat*' have their analytical substitutes in the sentences '*mye dyut yi tse*' (Kashmiri) and '*man in tura dadam*' (Persian) meaning 'I gave it thee' so that we can almost catch the two languages developing from agglutinative to analytical forms.

Kashmir has been rightly called the first home of Sanskrit and the second home of Persian. Both these languages have influenced Kashmiri very much. The trend has sometimes been to over sanskritise it and at others to over persianise it depending upon the religion, the times, the political atmosphere and such other factors that might have contributed to condition different writers. Fortunately some of the best writers of the present age are alive to the danger that such tendencies pose to the extent of obliterating the very identity of Kashmiri and may, therefore, be trusted to maintain some sort of a balance in this respect.

We have seen how there is reason to believe in the great antiquity of Kashmiri, in its resemblance to Indian, Iranian and European languages in point of characteristics peculiar to them. What does all this indicate ? May it not be that further research into the morphology, phonology and semantics of Kashmiri will give one peep into much that is hidden to the view of the past of all languages that are Aryan in origin ?

Note on transliteration of oriental words

[Only an accent mark has been introduced here and there to distinguish short and long vowels. Nor have cerebrals been shown as distinct from dentals. The exigencies of the printing press could not have been met otherwise.]

CHAPTER 4

SHARDA INSCRIPTIONS OF KASHMIR

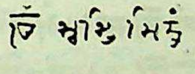
(*Translated by K.L. Kalla and Piaray Lal Razdan*)

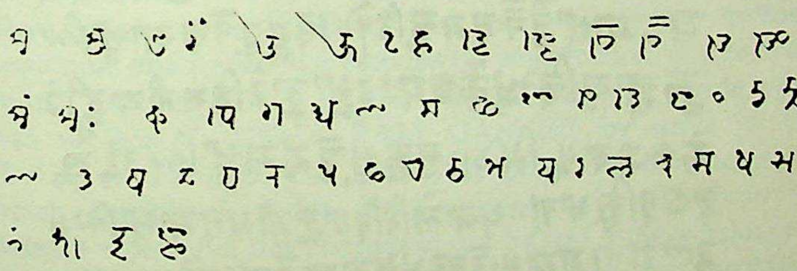
1. The great historian Kalhana has said in his immortal work 'Rajatarangini' that while composing the great epic, he had to study various inscriptions of art on stones and carvings which were lying waste in the debries of the valley of Kashmir. Unfortunately, all these pieces of art are, now, completely lying waste and are unknown. Whatever traces of these are left, they are lying in dilapidated condition in the museums of Lahore, Peshawar, London and America. It is a wonder that in Chamba (H.P.), nearly 200 pieces of such SHARDA script-pieces have been found. But, in Kashmir, so far, not a single clue has been found anywhere. In Kashmir, the first such monuments were found in the reign of Dida Rani. One of these is preserved in Kashmir Govt. Museum, Srinagar. The square piece, metalled and carved with pictures of Bodhistava Padampani with Sharda description of the picture below.

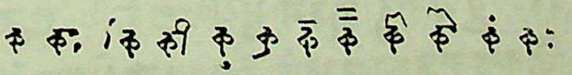
2. The second Shila Lekh has been found in one Kashmiri Pandat's house long ago ; and it is, now lying safe at Lahore.

In the former inscription, the description in SHARDA script states that the carving was made in Dida Rani's time, in 65 (Lokik) (Shravana Shukla Pakh Fifteen) to give away the gift of Padma Pain to the son of Bhima for the spiritual satisfaction of the Ganga Devi, so that the Goddess may bless them. The second carving is in broken state. It describes a person, DHARMANKA, who had earlier pleased his mother by performance of religious rituals. The Sharda description, also, eulogises the religious deed of Dharmanka in praise of his mother. Both these carvings have been made in SAPTRISHI Samwat.

SHARDA SCRIPT ALPHABETS



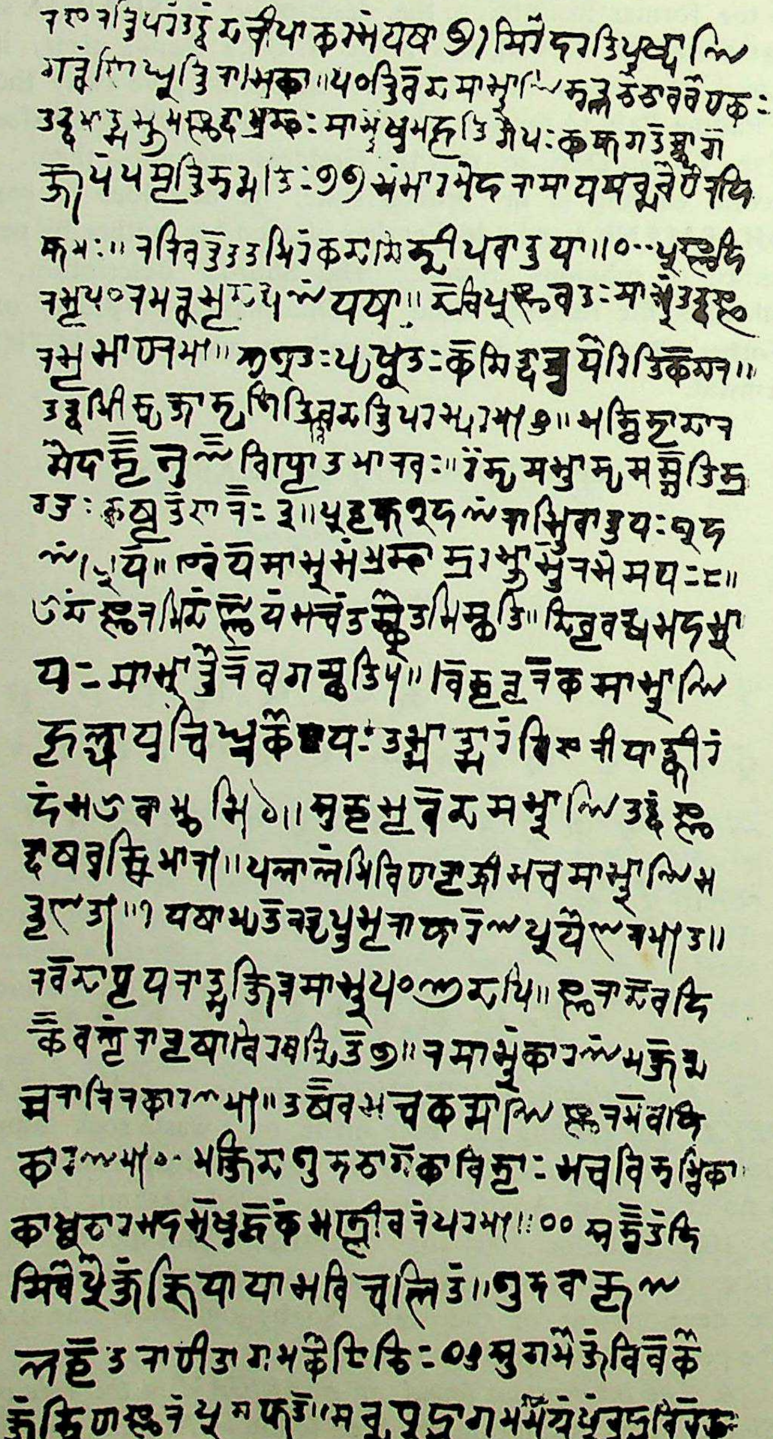




3. *Inscription at DACHANGAM in the period of ANANTDEVA.* The carving has been made on a waste rock found at Dachangam, near Kishtwar. It is believed that Ananta Deva is no other than Anant Deva, who ruled Kashmir from 1028 to 1063 A.D. or 4004-4039 (Saptrishi) This monument describes the eagerness of the poor and downtrodden people in the development of the state. So, by joint muscular strength, the people constructed the bridge.

4. *The Inscriptions found at a ARIGAM in the rule of Jai Singh.* This inscription has been found at Arigam, in Kashmir.

A SPECIMEN OF SHARDA SCRIPT



It is now lying in the museum of the J & K State, Srinagar. The carved inscription in Sharda script describes that a person RAM DEV by name, who was resident of Hadigram (Modern Arigam), constructed a wooden Temple in which he installed the Idol of BODISATAVA AVLOKESHWARA. Due to passage of time, this temple was burnt to ashes by a ruler, called SIMHA, and then another devotee, called KULDEVA reconstructed this wooden temple with bricks, in the year 42 (Lokik) or 73 Margashirasha Shukla Paksha Panchami (or, 16th Nov. 1197 A.D.). Undoubtedly indication of Simha correlates with the ruler Jai Singh, in whose time according to BILHANA'S 'Rajatarangni' Hadigram village was burnt to ashes, and it is evident that with the burning of the whole village, the temple might have, also, been, burnt to ashes.

5. *Inscription found at TAPAR in the rule of PARMANDEVA*: This inscription is carved on a large slab of lintel which has been found at TAPAR (modern PRATBAPUR, in district Baramulla), and it is now in the custody of the Archaelogical Department of J. & K. State. The inscription is in a broken condition, and its carvings describe the construction of a temple in the rulership of Raja PARMAND DEVA, by a person who was the son of GHAJA RAJA GANCHY, by name in 42 (Lokik) or 1157 A.D, The whole description is in Sharda script which resembles the script of the carvings of the inscription of Arigam village. So, this inscription can be said to have belonged to the 12th century—probably 1157 A.D. According to the Rajataringini II, verse 39, JONARAJA has said that PARMANUK, ruled over Kashmir at this time. He was the son of Raja Jai Singh, and he was the would be descendant of the throne. Thus, it appears that Permanand Deva was no other than Parmanuk as inscribed in the monument under question. Similarly KALHANA has, also mentioned a ruler, named DARMANDI in his Rajatarangini. Therefore, it is evident that PARMAN DEVA PARMANUK and PARMANDI might have been the names of one and only one king though pronounced differently.

6. *Inscription found at Bijibihara in the rule of Raja RAJDEVA* : This inscription was found by Sir John Marshall in 1908-9 A.D., at Bijibihara, while he was on the travel of Kashmir. Now, this monument lies safe in one Kashmiri

Pandit's house. This inscription does not reveal any extraordinary event except for the name of RAJA JAYADEVA. We find the mention of RAJA JAYADEVA in JONA RAJA'S Rajatarangini, also. According to this, it is evident that he was the son and descendant of Raja Jaga Deva, who ruled Kashmir upto 1213 (1236) A.D.

The inscription in Sharda Script mentions the construction of "LOKESHWARA—BATARKA,—MANDALAKA ; by a Buddhist scholar Kanalapriya. Fogel describes 'Mandalaka' as the circular dome, 'Batarka' as Master and 'Lokeshwara' as the name of the family disciple of Buddha, AVLOKIESHWARA. In this way, 'Lokeshwar Batarka Mandalka' means a religious construction in the holy name of AVLOKISHWARA.

7. *Inscription found in the rule of Sultan SHAHAB-UD-DIN at Kothar* : This inscription is carved in Sharda script on an oldest and worn out stone. The lower right corner of the stone is now broken. It is considered to have had on it the carving of the description of a very important event, perhaps not known now. The inscription begins with the praise of Ganesha after which is the account of a certain lady, known as JODHA, who is supposed to have performed a remarkable religious deed. This inscription has been found from a well at Kothar (modern Kapteshwar, district Anantnag). It is, now, lying in safe custody of the Archaeological Department of the J & K State. Probably, the construction of this well was the work of Lady JODHA, in whose time the inscription was carved. The opening part of the description relates the praises of Sultan SHAHAB-UD-DIN, in whose reign the Lady did such a great religious deed. The ruler has been praised sky-high in valour and dignity with Pandava Kings.

8. *KHONMOOH Inscription in the reign of Zain-Ul-Abidin.* This inscription has been carved on a rock on the bank of the river at Bhuvneshwar, one mile away from Khonmooh village. This place at Bhuvaneshwar is covered with dense forests, now, and it presents a beautiful sight to see. This beautiful place falls on the way to Harishwara. The carved stone in Sharda is still in safe condition. It describes the creation of an Ashram in 4530 (Lokik) Kali Samvat, by

a famous trader CHURNIKA, by name. It was the time when the son of Sikandara, Zain-Ul-Abidin ruled over Kashmir. Under him Chindaka governed Khonmooh.

9. *Carved inscription on a grave in the rule of Mohammed Shah* : This carved inscription is found on the memorial stone of a grave in Hari Parbat, near the shrine of Baba-ud-Din. The description is divided into two parts—one in Sharda script, the other is in Arabic script. Both the descriptions state an account of a fight fought near Jishturdra (Sharda) Takhatgarh (Suleman, Arabic) in the reign of Mohammed Shah when Abraham's son Syed Khan was killed. So, this epitaph was made in the memory of Syed Khan. The fight mentioned in the epitaph is no other than the one fought between Sayyida and Kashmiris in the reign of Mohammed Shah near JISHTRUDRA (modern Shankaracharya hill). The date inscribed in the epitaph is 4560 (Lokik) or, Shrawana Krishna Paksha Pritipada, or Friday, the 9th of July, 1484 A.D. This is the same day on which the battle came to an end, according to Shrivara's Rajtarangini, Tarang iv, 334 Padda. This reveals that in the Middle Age in Kashmir, both the scripts were used easily by the Kashmiris (both Hindus and Muslims).

10. *Inscription of Zaji Nai* : This inscription has been found at Zaji Nai, near Wadawan in district Doda, Kashmir. This is carved on a lime stone, and is, now lying in the Archaeological Department of the J & K State, Srinagar. This has been broken into several parts and most of these parts now lie somewhere, unknown. Therefore, the actual description of the epitaph is very difficult to trace out. In the epitaph there is the indication of ASHWADAM PRATISHTHAPITAM ASHWAG-RAKHYAM, and many such words. Besides, at the bottom of epitaph, there is the figure of the horse which reveals that this inscription might have been the memorial of a construction for the maintenance of a stable, or a Goshala.

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CHAPTER 5

ORIGINS OF RELIGIOUS SYNTHESIS IN KASHMIR

Asha Pajnu

Even before the advent of Muslim rule in the Kashmir valley, the religion of Islam had made its appearance there. And the Islam that reached there had itself come into contact with Mahayani Buddhism in Central Asia and some parts of Persia. It had been influenced by its philosophical thoughts and a new school of Islamic mystics, called the *Sufis*, came into the valley as missionaries. Brahmanic Pantheism and Buddhist Nihilism attracted the attention of *Sufi* doctors. The disciples of Abu Sayyid who advised the people to forsake the world, wore a garment of wool (Suf) and came to be known as Sufis. Sufism in the beginning professed contempt for life and preached love of God and asceticism, but in the course of time, the Sufis entered into discussions respecting the Divine and this lead to *Pantheism*. Pantheism and asceticism are the two main pillars of *sufism*. God is one and the creation is therefore a part of his being. God is immanent in all things and is the essence of every human soul. It is evident that many things are common between the Saiva philosophy and Sufism.

The first successful missionary in the valley was Sayyid Bulbul Shah. His methods were persuasion and precept. Then came Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din, and Sayyid Tajud Din. But most renowned was Sayyid Ali Hamdani. He is known in Kashmir as Shah Hamdan and due to his learning, piety and devotion he became extremely popular in the valley. He wrote on *sufism* mainly, but his learning is mainfest in other branches as well, secular in character, like law and political science. He wrote Persian poetry and his odes embody his Sufistic outlook on life. These show his broad humanistic outlook on life and religion. He held discussions with the Saiva poetess, Lalleshwari and the great Sufi Saint Sheikh Nur-ud-Din. The latter two have been greatly responsible in forging ahead the synthesis that is the main foundation of the principle of secularism that exists in the valley. Sayyid Ali Hamdani was followed by Mir Mohamad Hamdani who stayed in the valley for 22 years. The presence of these Sufis gave the Kashmiris a marked tendency for mysticism. The character of the people was moulded on the humanistic and tolerant plane. There was a temporary reversion to intolerant methods, but the peaceful methods triumphed. In fact the Sufis reacted sharply to the use of force and a new order of Sufis called the Islamic Rishis was evolved. "This school had a profound philosophical influence on the people. It moulded the minds and set up the idea of religious tolerance and abiding faith in the grace of God."

Sheikh Nur-ud-Din *alias* Nund Rishi, was the foremost of the Saints. His father came under the influence of Yasman Rishi, a *sufi* saint and thus Nund Rishi founded the order of the Rishis of Kashmir. He lived in retirement and renunciation, having no inclination for wordly pursuits. Though illiterate, he gave the valley sayings which are rich in celestial beauty. Two volumes, "Rishi Nama" and "Nur Nama" contain his utterances. The gist of his sayings is advocacy of good actions in which alone lies salvation. The Rishi was loved and respected by both the Hindus and Muslims. To both he taught righteousness in thought, feeling and action. 'Lead a disciplined life, that is true devotion to God.' Rites and rituals of religion are only camouflage.

Having masked thy-face.
thou hast called the believers to prayer.
How can I know, O Rishi, what thou feelest in thy heart or what thou bowest for?
If thou maketh union with Siva, then only, O Rishi, will prayers avail thee.

Sheikh Nur-ud-Din's physical remains lie buried at Chrari Sharif. Kashmiris of all religions offer their homage to this Saint every year.

The order of Rishis founded by Sheikh Nur-ud-Din attracted followers from all religions. The ideals before this order were love and tolerance. The most eminent of these Rishis have been 'Bata Mol', Rishi Mol of Anantnag, Zaink Rishi of Aishmuqam, Thagababa of Srinagar and Rishi Pir of the same place. They shared the sorrows and joys of the common people. Piety and renunciation were the ideals they followed. There was thus a *Ziarat* here and everywhere.

In the course of a couple of centuries Kashmir became the place of synthesis of two mighty traditions—*Saivism* and *Erfon*, the 'Wisdom of the Quran'. There were moments of distress and intolerance and even persecution, but the good sense always prevailed. The valley did nevertheless pass through the throes of a religious fermentation and the result was what every one desired, namely the birth of mystics and saints who by their teaching and precept became models of religious tolerance and secularism. It is these traditions that hold together the people of the valley inspite of political, social, and economic upheavals that have taken place from time to time. If Kashmiris are able to hold their head high today truly and if Gandhiji saw the light only in the valley, the credit goes to these mystics and saints.

Among the saints and mystics was the famous 'Lal Ded or Lalleshwari.' She adoped the life of the Sanyasini or the ascetic early in life. She was driven to this course partly by the inhuman treatment meted out to her by her in-laws. She gave up her secluded life and became a wandering preacher. People both Hindus and Muslims remember by heart her *Vakyas*. She pronounced these teachings in the language of the people. She taught the Yoga Philosophy and Saivism and laid the foundation of Kashmiri literature and folklore. These *Vakyas* also exemplify the synthesis of culture for which Kashmir has always been known. She gives message to the world which is common to all religions, and philosophies. Her religious philosophy has the best elements of Vaishnavism, Saivism and Sufism. She advised her followers to follow the ideas of love and service to humanity, remaining indifferent to praise or censure.

"The true saint is servant of all mankind,
Through his humility and loving kindness.
Idol-worship leads a man nowhere."

'Siva lives in my soul. Having understood and recognised the absolute truth, all religious paths are leading to the same goal'.

Shiv chuy thali thali rozan, Mozan Hund ta Musalman

Or

Shiva prevades every where, do not differentiate between Hindu and Musalman.

If thou are intelligent recognise thine own self ;
That is the true acquaintance with god.

The Saint that followed Lala Ded in spiritual attainment and fame was one Rupa Bhawani. Her life also exemplifies the process of synthesis between Islam and Hinduism, the impact of Sufism on the Shaiva philosophy and *vice-versa*. Her spiritual mentor (Guru) was her own father, Pt. Madhav Dhar, whose religious outlook was in turn moulded by his philosophical discussions with a Muslim Faqir, Sayyid Kamal, *alias* Thag Baba. She herself came into contact with a muslim, Shah Sadiq Qalandar, and for many years the two held discussion with each other, comparing spiritual-notes, based on their respective mystic experiences. Rupa Bhawani's verses reveal the significant synthesis between Kashmiri Saivism and Islamic *sufism.* Realization can be attained through the dissolution of 'self'.

The same process of synthesis is confirmed by the life of yet another mystic Saint of Kashmir, namely, Rishipir. This cult had spread right up to Delhi by that time and what was preached by Rishi Pir in Srinagar was preached by equal spiritual force by another divine in Delhi. Rishi Pir's way to spiritual knowledge was paved by the discussion he had with the leaned tutor of Dara Shikoh.

Thus we can trace the origin of tolerance and love of humanity in Kashmir to these divines—both Muslim and Hindu.

CHAPTER 6

AN OUTLINE OF THE GROWTH OF VARIOUS FORMS IN KASHMIRI LITERATURE

Mohiud-Din Hajini

Epics

The classical Mahabharata was probably rendered into Kashmiri during Sultan Zain-ul-Aabideen's time ; the mutilated manuscript in the Research Department is perhaps its only extant copy. Its translator is nowhere traceable in the text, and its diction is mostly outdated. Bhatavtar's reported translation of some parts or the whole of Firdousi's Shahnama during this period has never been located anywhere. After the downfall of the Shahmiri and the Chak dynasties, literary interest in epics continued declining till Prakash Kaul of Kurigam retold Ramayana in Kashmiri probably in 1847 A.D. There were other abridged versions of the Ramayana, the latest one being Nila Kanth Sharma's in the present century. From amongst the 19th century epic poets Moulvi Siddiqullah of Hajin gave us the first version of Nizami's famous Sikendernama, Hamidullah of Anantnag is the only Kashmiri poet in the 19th century who wrote his Akbarnama (Afghan wars with the British) in Persian, and Wahhab Parey of Hajin, the greatest epic-poet in Kashmiri, rendered it into Kashmiri when he was a budding poet.

Later Wahhab retold Fridousi's entire Shahnama in 23491 verses, including Khilafatnama (i.e. Muslim conquest of Iran) in 6666 verses. It was on Wahhab's initiative that Amir Shah of Kreri brought from the voluminous Kashmiri version of Khajoo's Saamnama. Lachman Kaul Bulbul's abbreviated Saamnama (1874 AD.), is purer in diction though not superior in content to Amir Shah's. Amir Shah's another noteworthy epic is Khawarnama on the military exploits of the fourth Orthodox Caliph, Hazrat-e-Ali. He was followed by Muzaffar Shah who wrote Jang-e-Mukhtar depicting the horrible vengeance wrought on Ummayed troops, who were reported to have killed Imam-e-Hussain, the martyr. All these classical renderings from Persian, stand as milestones in our epic literature, providing a pattern for a host of junior poets in epics ; hence we see as for instance. Ali Shah of Haril (d 1932) writing dozens of Razmia (Combat) works, mostly covering early Muslim History, till Gh Mohammad, Hanafi (d 1937) retold the Qissa-e-Amir Hamza of Allama Faizi into persianized Kashmiri. By this time, almost all Arab battles fought and won during the time of the Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) and his orthodox Caliphs, were rendered into Kashmiri verse, mostly dominated by Persian not only in the style and metre, but in phrases, epithets, conceit and hyperbole.—It is not a strange experience in the 19th Century and early 20th Century, that sometimes small combat-epics are woven round a casual reference in Muslim History and tactfully developed to a glorious climax. With the advancements in education, poets seem to have completely disengaged themselves from epic literature and that is why no epic in the Mathnavi form appeared since 1937.

Romanticism

With rare exceptions where the poet follows the text strictly in accordance with the Muslim History, the majority of epics are romantic in the sense that each one "embodies the life and adventure of some hero of Chivalry, or belongs in matter and form, to the age of knighthood". Similarly each one has a tinge of fictitious narrative of which the scene and incidents are very remote from the ordinary life, and often woven into wanton exaggeration and picturesque falsehood, "the recognised ingredients of romance both in epics and in aesthetic poetry".

The influence of Persian often creeps in intensely in subjective moods that sublimate into romantic flashes first under a veiled and allegorical sensuousness and later into sublime ejaculations. Habba Khatoon, Arnimal Rasool Mir and Mahjoor respectively stand as milestones in the romantic poetry of 16th, 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. To them every thing in the romantic environment of Kashmir "particularly flower, meadow glen, glade and even a thistle appeared both bewildering and soothing" and above all "in rapturous communication with the poets sub-conscious". This tradition was carried further by Wahhab in Ghazals and by Haquani, Haji Miskeen, Hairat and Lassa Khan in their Bazmia (love), mathnavi, but the field of the first three was vast enough to be limited to pure romanticism. In fact, the prolific legacy of Mathnavi literature during the 19th and early 20th century is potential enough to supply sublime models of style and theme for a long time to come. Gulrez, Gulnoor Rana-Zeba, Sherin-Khusroo, Wamiq Azra, Gul-e-Bakawuli, Mumtaz-e Benazir, even though only Kashmiri versions of foreign romantic works, do come upto the standard regarding diction, plot, and pitch in the style. As for romantic songs and ghazals during the last and the present centuries, it will require a complete discourse to cover the topic. Even though no noteworthy romance in Mathnavi form has appeared after 1947, Rahi, Kamil, Nawaz, Rasa Javidani, Firaq and Azim have enriched Kashmiri with the finest prices in pure romanticism, in a number of non-mathnavi poems. This group has unconsciously given a lead to the budding poets in modern romanticism i.e. Nazir, Rasheed Nazki, Kanwal, Raaz, Manzoor Hashami, Saqi and Ahsan.

Lyrics

Lyrics originally meant something pertaining to lyre i.e. to be sung : later it came to mean a poem divided into stanzas or strophes, and directly expressing the poet's thoughts or sentiments. In Kashmiri we have "Lol-lyrics" a phrase coined by Prof. J.L. Kaul, Lol implying an untranslatable complex of love, longing and tugging at the heart. "This form has a long history and tradition in Kashmir. It is rarely more than six to ten lines, including the refrain, and often converges on a single mood". Habba Khatoon initiated its form "Watsun" in which each three line stanza is followed by a refrain (Voje). In due course all songs such as Chakri, Rov and Lila songs adopted "Watsun" as its form. We owe its preservation to the professional singers of the Sufiana Kalam (mystic poetry).

It is a thing of music and with its end-rhymes, medial rhymes and ever-recurring refrains, its alliterations, and assonance that come naturally as the very stuff of the language, which has high proportion of vowels and semi-vowels to its consonants and in which aspirates, gutterals and consonants are rare. Its appeal is directly to the emotions of the listener.

In classical lyrics, such as those of Habba Khatoon and Arnimal "there were few allusions and fewer ornaments ; they had directness, simplicity, and a tender piognancy of feeling ; whereas the latter imitations are more and more sophisticated. The earlier lyrics are "charged with the intensity of feeling that often concentrates on the yearning for the beloved "that may resemble any human being from Yusuf Shah Chak (the exiled and dethroned lover of Habba Khatoon) the Biblical Yusuf (Joseph) the ideal of beauty in all oriental lore. As for the latter period i.e. from Mahmood Gami onwards, our lyrics clearly fall into two groups : Rasool Miri Maqbool Shah, Krishan Razdan (1925) and Mahjoor sing of Mahammadan type of beloved ; Nema Sahib (1880), Swach Kral and Aziz Darvish 1890 wrote lyrics to soothe the drooping soul of the complex ridden Kashmiri who always pines for the exhilirating rapture in which he would not have to sing every now and then, with Mahjoor "winter will pass off, and ice will melt away, yes the spring shall come again".

Prof. J.L. Kaul's "Lol Lyrics", published in 1945 in Roman script of Kashmiri with an accurate English translation, is the pioneer attempt in compilation of scattered lore of our lyrics.

Folk Lore

Long after A. Stein and J.H. Knowle first introduced some salients facts of Kashmiri folklore particularly folk-tales for the English-knowing world. The local authors, and subsequently the J & K Cultural Academy felt that this branch of literature also is worth exploration of literary books like Bazum-e-Adab and Progressive Writers Congress also provided the spoken work, and within 20 years the elementary attempts at discovering the folklore revealed a vast field to researchers. Anthologies of folk-tales such as Bhrachy-Kathu (Publication poems Government of India) are the first successful compilation in Kashmiri prose. The versified part can now be classified as under :

(a) These include "nursery rhymes, cradle songs, harvest song and even the boatman's chanty, riddles or even meaningless snatches" (J.L. Kaul). This genre varies in content and meaning both with the growth of age and change in situation. It is only after 1947 that this otherwise anonymous stock, is classified as a distinct type, and we now have for example, Childrens' Books which for instance include :

Poshamal by S.N. Sadhu, Mukahtathar by Naji Manawar and Rahbar, Baalmarayo by S.N. Haleem, and Don Quirti by Prof. Sadhu. For the grown-up, we have :

(b) **Folk Songs** : It is usually intensely subjective ; its forms are varied and simple, mostly a four line stanza with a refrain intended to suit numerous situations in life e.g. to supplicate spiritual patronage for the baby cheer up a naughty youngster, buck up a boredartisan, or lighten the burden of a housewife, a weader—or a coolie dragging on a loaded cart. (Kaul). The five commendable volumes of Kashmiri Luka Bath (1965—71) one compiled jointly by Naji and Saqi and the other four by Saqi alone, comprise the best specimen of almost all offshoots of folksongs.

(c) **Vanvun : and Rov** : The two forms are perhaps the oldest art forms of the folk song exclusively "reserved for the fair-sex, vanavun is a "must" for all ceremonies, such as Id, Shivratri, and the month of Ramzan etc. Vanavun is always lighter in the tune, varied in form, and centred round a particular occasion as for instance, heralding a prosperous future for the baby : while Rov has its own peculiarities. Prof. Kaul has graphically depicted it when he wrote the country lasses and the middle aged dames come out (always after the sunset), divide themselves into two interlocked rows their arms over one another's shoulders and begin the swing like movement of the whole file, one row advancing and other receding. both keeping tunes to the dance tune of the Rov. These songs have relieved the tedium of the life of the illiterate women-folk, who, finds in them a sincere echo of their emotions.

In Rov alone the fair sex get a free chance to ejaculate their inner urges and suppressed aspirations. Gh. Mustafa Manzoor (b. 1906) and Gh. Hassan Driver (b. 1907) have added a lot to this otherwise anonymous branch of the folk-song.

(d) **Daastan Shayeri** : A number of long classical tales are inter-woven in songs appropriate to the various situations in the plot ; these songs form a distinct genre called Dasstan-Sahyeri. Some of the tales are purely native such as Akan-andun, Jehaar and Habba Khatoon, while some others are of foreign origin e. g. Laila Majnoon, Haroon Rashed Gul-e-Sonaber etc. Except Kabir Mir's Zen-e-Mazoor (Wood cutter) all the pieces are anonymous, and at the mercy of the professional recited (Kathagor), whose love for the old and even obsolete idiom and vocables can well be illustrated by one example of Mohammad Khaar (d. 1968) of Shahgund, who could at the age of about ninety recite exactly and faithfully 150 verses of Bhadur Ganais' Aknandun transmitted traditionally more than 300 years back. In view of the diminishing number of narrations, there is every apprehension of the loss of major portion of this "Poetry", unless arrangements are made for its proper compilation.

Devotional Poetry

Lal Ded and Shiekh Noor-ud-Din Noorani are the first two

Kashmiri poets whose major part of the non-mystic poetry falls under this form; of course, with one difference; Lal Ded basing her poetry on Shaivite faith, and Nund Rishi on Islamic ethics. Both abhored hypocrisy and ritualism in various creeds and exhorted listeners to seek purity of mind and good conduct irrespective of their creed. Numerous saints and disciples in the Rishi order and Shaivite cult carried the message on with the result that almost every poet deemed his duty to bequeath to posterity some devotional songs in various art forms. In the entire gamut, we notice one major difference : non-muslim poets using over-sanskritized and muslims over-persianized diction of style. From Sahab Kaul (d. 1676) to Krisnha Razdan, (d. 1925) on the one hand and from Habibullah Nowshahri (1617) to Haqquani (d. 1928) on the other hand, a long chain of poets have followed this trade—both in the language, used and in the religious objectives propounded. There are some exceptions to the rule with regard to the theme. Muslim poets writing in the style of Shastra e. g. Rahiem Sahib, Shamus Faqiur or Ahed Zargar, and Hindu poets singing enlogres to the Holy Prophet e. g. Sat Ram (d. 1934) or Anand Kaul (d. 1939) but these are too many, though their attempts do 'indicate the spirit of reverance for faiths other than ones own'.

Devotional poetry has, branched in to numerous fields; hymns (Munajaat) to God, eulogues (Naat) to the Prophet, panegyrics (Manquabat) to saints, in the Muslim group; and 'lilas', 'Bhajans' and reformative poems in the Hindu group. The sources of the muse also vary correspondingly : Muslims derive their material from the Holy Quran, Traditions of the Prophet, Islamic History, Theology and Mysticism : Hindus basing their verse on mythology, Bhagvat Geeta, Puranas, Krishana Bhakti, Rama Bhakti and Trika Shastra.

Taayis (d.1914), Sana-ullah Kreri (d.1875), Nadim (d.1911), Jaid (d. 1908) have utilized almost their entire crudation to Naat and Munajaat ; Lakhman Joo Bullbul (d. 1884) and Krishna Razdan (1925) wrote 'lilas', 'Bhajans and reformation poems. Several others who have contributed a lot to other forms, have also excelled in their religious verse e.g. Molvi Siddiquallah of Hajin (1900), Hassan Shah (1898) and Haquani (1928), Prakash Ram (1898). Paramanand (d. 1879) and Nil

Kanth Sharma (d. 1969) come under this class. With this solid and mature background, the traditions of this theme continue more systematically and vigorously amongst the contemporary poets. Shamus-ud-Din Ghamgeen (b.1904), Fitrat (b.1998), G.R. Nazki (b. 1919) and Almast, (b. 1910), Fazil (b. 1914), Tanha (d. 1968) in general and Ghulam Mushtaq (b. 1934) and Arshique, Zakhmi have produced excellant pieces in religious verse, during the past two decades.

Mysticism

Down from Sati Kanth (13th century), to the contemporary Ahad Zargar (b.1908) we have a trailing galaxy of mystic poets in every century, some like Lal Ded (d. 1400), Nund Rishi (d. 1438), Paramanand (d.1879), Shamus Faquer (d.1905) and Zinda Kaul (d.1965). pioneers both in style and message, while a good number of them, though not all sublime in verse, yet mature enough in mystical vision e.g. Rahiem Sahib (d. 1869), Swach Kral (d. 1891), and Rahman Dar (d. 1900). It is true that in almost every period, most of our mystics' such as Kh. Habibullah Nowshawri (d. 1617), Roupa Bhawani (d. 1721), Aziz Darvish Shah Gafoor (d. 18th century) and Ahmad Batwari (d. 1920) could rarely rise alone the pantheistic school of mysticism, and some others were exclusively concerned with their "trance ejaculations than with poetic canons e. g. Momin Shah (early 19th century), Wahhab Khaar (d. 1912) and Asad Parey (d. 1916), it will nevertheless be too bold, even audacious, to evaluate their contribution to mystic verse with a para or so. The ever accummaling legacy in mystic poetry is so fecundite in content and so diversifying in form as to attract any critic to pick up numerous noteworthy traits wise saws and pithy sayings didactic quidities, and intuitive flashes even in the otherwise obscure mystics—all converging on 'discovery of the inner-self'.

Before the advent of Islam, Kashmir was the nerve-centre of Trika and Budhistic philosophies enunciating some beliefs and practices objectively akin to the Iranic mysticism of Muslim Saints ; this affinity in course of time, flowered into an harmonious synthesis wherein the Muslim Muraquaba appeared identifiable with the Budhistic dhayana and Brahamic Samadhi in the mystic discipline. Far from Rahim Sahib to Master Zinda Kaul (d. 1965) in the higher rank and from Mirza Kak to Samad Mir in the normal rank of mystics, we can glean numerous verses identical in appeal and conviction though widely varying in form and direction. But this cultural link, though noteworthy cannot be stretched too far to identify the two major branches provided by the indigenous and Iranian thought. Thus the Krishna Bhakti school represented by Paramanand and Ram Bhakti school represented by Nila Kanth Sharma first round the distinct Hindu concepts, while the Kubravi, Subhrawadi, Rishi, Chisti and Quadri schools of Muslim mystics with very rare exceptions, trace back their genesis to Islamic tenets alone. Hence the difference in their final objective in the process of self realization, "Unlike the Nirvana" says R. A. Nicholson which is merely the cessation of individuality, fana, the passing away of the Sufi from his phenomenal existence involves baqa, the continuance of his real existence. (The mystic of Islam 1911 11 page 149). One aspect of all mystic poets, without distinction of creed is patent: all preached catholicism, renunciation of things worldly, tolerance, unitive state of the soul. But the keynotes to mysticism i.e. light, knowledge and love, or the utima Thule of the 'heaven ward journey' i.e. absorbing into one Real Being—all these are so distinctly 'comprehended' and presented that with no stretch of imagination can any one identify, say, the Ras lila concept of Paramanand with the Hal-al-Haque of Haqquani. The Muslim Mystics, like their Iranian predecessors in faith distinguish these organs of the spiritual communications, the heart (Qab) which knows God, the spirit (Ruh) which loves Him, and the inner ground of the soul (Sirr) which contemplates Him (Nicholson). In this self realizing process, we come across the 'acquired stages' (Maquamaat), and directly-bestowed states (Ahwal), so repeatedly that the subject has now assumed a rigidly coventional scope, wherein a good number of them have largely, borrowed from persian not only ideas but the epithets and phrases—often state enough and also the imagery, symbolism and conceit (Kaul). Such a blind mimicry has, no doubt reduced most of the thought-content in Kashmiri mystic poetry 'sentimental, platituduous, morbidly gloomy and obscure' Kaul). M.A. Kamil's 3-Volume Kashmir Sufi Shavir is the first anthology of our mystic poetry providing representative prices of almost all the eminent mystic poets, and touching major issues on the subject in its exhaustive Introduction.

Humour

Even though Kashmiri literature is deficient in humour when compared to other languages, its scattered stock is not hallow in content nor immature in spirit. Besides Ladishah and Banda Jashan (the former entertaining the country-folk, and the latter providing with in open air theatrical performance), a Kashmiri is justly noted for his ready wit, retort, repartee, pun and play upon words come naturally to his tongue. (J.L. Kaul). Maqbool Shah had given a start to caricaturing in verse, a farmer and a Pir, but latter poets added a lot to humorous verse. Pahelnama, Muqdam-nama, Malnama etc. Madha Deek of Srinagar in quatrains, and Wahhab Sahib of Sangrama in long poems spouted forth venomous lampoon streaked with humour. Abdul Ahad Nadim in his casual moods and Khezir Magrebi (b. 1921), Sayer (b. 1915) and Parwaz (b. 1943) as a born caricaturists have verified ridiculous situations in most telling colloquial idiom. G.R. Santosh has begun the game in prose.

The first weekly paper Guash (1940) and later G.N. Khayal's Weekly 'Wattan, (1964) had reserved a column for humour, while Noor Mohammad Book-Seller published the Asunta-Gindun, and Dilsoze immature but humorous skits before the fifties.

It was left for M.A. Kamil to give us the most remarkable compilation in Kashmiri humour in his Asun Traye, published by the Cultural Academy in 1967. As for the comic characterization or radio features, Pushkar Bhan stands unparalleled where he 'utilizes humour and wit with utmost dexterity and touching verse'. (Kaul)

Shahr Ashobe

(c) When a Kashmiri took to new fashions that misplaced him in society, or to new values repugnant to the common belief, the poet came with his satire in Shahr Ashobe. This genre includes satire on corrupt officials, bamboozling priests, or even on natural calamities. It proved to be a literary, weapon and its object had to feel the sting for a pretty long time. Mehada Deek, Nazim, Nadim and Wahhab have left behind some serious pieces centring round either humorous caricaturing or stinging lampoon.

Ladishah

It is the typical name for a folk ballad pungently comic-cum-satiric in text, and historically speaking a sullen reaction of a suppressed nation against tyranny, vis major or deliberate 'mismanagement' of mundane affairs. It is distinguished for its 'homely metaphor, and picturesque potrayal of ridiculous situation, in which a common Kashmiri finds himself in an autocratic regime' ; and it has proved to be a source of mental consolation for the enslaved folk during the centuries past. Major portion of this form is lost in verbal transmission by the illiterate bards, nevertheless we still possess some very fine pieces in the Ladishah. Hakeem Habibullah (1905), Munawer Shah of Kulsoo (d. 1925), and Lala Lakhman (d. 1947), are recognized masters of this form, while Noor Mohammad Roshan and Mohd. Ali Kanwal were their contemporary prototypes, who have added both vigour and colour to this form of the folk ballad.

Elegy (Marthiya or Marsiya)

Its origin is inferred in the Chak period (1561-86), and it continued expanding and developing till late in the 19th century. But it remained as if 'reserved with a group of professional reciters' called 'Zakirs' who made business of it every year, particularly during the first ten days of Moharrum, the first Hijri month of the year, Zakirs stuck to the rule not to let the elegies be published, for their services would then be dispensed with. That is why we possess only two collections of the Marsiya, one printed in Lahore before 1920, and the other (OSH-ta-Aab) in Srinagar in 1955, though there are innumerable collections with the miserly Zakirs. Elegy in

Kashmiri is written in long slow solemnity, appropriate to the tragedy at Karbula. These display learning and rich allusiveness in their "bombastic or sentimental diction".

Although the language is often over-persianized yet some of the classical ones retain several terms that have now either replaced or forgotten. Elegy in Mathnavi form can be read in Syed Amir Shah's Jang-e-Iman-e-Hanafiya A.G. Ashique's and Ghulam Hassan Darsis two mathnavi's under the same name i.e. Rouzat-u-Shuhda. A good number of classical Elegy writers preferred to die unsung e. g. Khwaja Husain Mir Kh. Dayim, Hakeem Abdullah, Kh. Baquir, Mirza Abul Qasim, Kh. Safdar and Ahmad Ali Ghazi. Elegy in the conventional form gained full momention in the 19th when Hakeem Azeem (d. 1852), Mohud Yusuf (d.1885), Mustafa Ali (d.1896), Munshi Mohd Ali (d. 1902) and Hakeem Habibullah (d. 1905) added new dimensions to this form. From amongst the 20th century poets who have made a name we find Hakeem Hussain Ali (d. 1916), Hakeem Gh. Rasool (d. 1930), Munshi Mohd. Abbas (d. 1945) and the contemporary Munshi Mohd. Sadique all enriching the form with new-ideas studded on the classical theme.

Quatrains (Rubaiyat) and Couplets (Qitaat)

Before Mirza Arif (b. 1910) only a few poets of eminent rank like Wahhab wrote quatrains, while the majority abstained from experimenting it because of its rigid rules of prosody. Mirza Arif made it his forte, and, in effect, gave a lead to the younger generation, though, it must be admitted, major portion of modern tetrastich verse does not follow the classical 'Hazj' metre. Even Mirza Arif himself and Khayyal, while translating the celebrated Umar Khayyam could not follow the original in the metre. Thus the bulk of modern "four-line" stanzas can technically be classed as Du-Baitee' or couplets akin to quatrain only in the rhyme-scheme of 'a a b a'.

Following Mirza Arif, G.R. Azad and Nawaz have added a lot to both the forms. G.R. Nazki's Namroodnama and G R. Azad's Kahkashan are the two noteworthy works hitherto published in Qitaat and Rubaiyat both revealing precision, as regards adroit phrase and economy of style are concerned.

Free Verse and Blank Verse

There are some remnants of both of these forms in our elegy, but the polish and vigour injected in these by the progressive writers after 1947, unfold altogether a new turn particularly towards a modernity in outlook, theme and diction. Despite the tradition its, opposition, it has become a fashion with the majority of younger poets to start with the free verse—free from all cannons of prosody—but the Blank Verse is not as easy a job for even the mature group. Nadim, Rahi and Kamil are the masters of technique in both of the forms, while Firaq, Santosh and Roshan have also the right to be included in the harbingers of the new trend.

As for the younger group, it is very difficult to make a choice from the host whose merit in other forms has already been acknowledged. Sajood Sailani, Gauhar, M. Nirash, Ajir Betaab, Massarar, Shahid Badgami, Farhad, Saadi, Majboor Rusul Pampur, Manjoor, Hashmi, Tanha Nizami and Reh, appear promising enough in free verse, and to an appreciable extent, in Blank Verse as well. Unfortunately all their works have remained uncompiled till now.

Prose

Prose writing has systematically begun from 1917 onwards when most of the intellectuals and men of letters collectively felt an urge to enrich Kashmiri not only in pure literature alone but in work on technical subjects as well. Various organizations sprang up to co-ordinate the literary output (in prose and poetry) in their 'official' Journals ; but the Journals proved too limited for literary works of note. Nor was there any regular agency prepared to undertake publication of books without, as was the tradition till then, grabbing the copyright. With this environment, 'not even a quarter of what has been written has been printed, and even a considerable part of what has been printed, is to be gleaned from pages of magazines, now defunct.' (Prof. Kaul). Hence numerous notable works e.g. Pants Auyeen (Constitution) by Prof. Fazili; Aadam Mor (Anatomy) by Mirza Arif; Ilm-e-Mayushat (Sociology) by Prof. Soze, still await publication.

It was only in the late fiftees that the Cultural Academy (Kashmir), and to some extent, the Sahitya Akademi (Delhi) came to the rescue of local writers. The individuals maiden attempts in prose-during the past two decades proved outstanding enough to win over the Sahitya Akademi and Cultural Academy Awards.

Sahitya Akademi Award Winning Works

1. Sat-Sangar (Short Stories), by Akhtar Mohy-ud-Din—1958.
2. Kashre Zabane-hund Illaquawad Phaira (Linguistics). by A.K. Tak—1968.
3. Maqualaat (Critical Discourses), by Prof. Mohy-ud-Din Hajini—1970.

Cultural Academy Award Winning Works

(a) *Ist Prize* :

1. Kashre Nasrech Kitab. (A Book of Prose in Kashmiri) by Prof. Mohy-ud-Din Hajini—1962.
2. Kashre Adabech Tawarikh (A History of Kashmiri Literature), by A. K. Rahbar—1966.
3. Kashre-Zaban-Hund-Illaquawad Phaira by A.K. Tak—1969.

(b) *2nd Prize Winning Works* :

1. Baal Marayo (Short Stories),—*Bansi Nirdosh*—1962.
2. Losmete Tarkh (Short Stories),—*Sofi Gh. Mohd.*—1964.
3. Mujrim (Novel)—*Gh. Nabi Gauhar*—1970.
4. Sayasatech Paar-e-Zan (Political Science)—*Prof. Fazali*—1970.

It appears surprising how within so short a period, Kashmiri prose branched off to dry fields with full exuberance e.g. Sargam (3 Vol:) on musical notations, by S Abdul Aziz, Bagh-e-Arooz on Prosody by Khezit Magerebi. On the one hand, the basic books on physical sciences for laymen, such as *Wutsa Prang* by Prof. Sadhu Mohd. Tajruba by A.M. Wani and Scienasok Rang by Publications Division (Delhi) gave a fillip to the budding writers in the technical subjects, while on the other hand, Travelogues like Cheenok Safar by Mirza Arif, and Slavamir by Akhtar Mohy-ud-Din opened up new vistas for widening the scope of prose. Besides, direct translations of Classical works in foreign languages added not only much needed variety but depth and richness to the 30 years old prose. Amongst these may be included Gorky's *Mother* (Russian) by A.M. Lone, Rahnuma's *Pyamber* (Persian) by Dr. S. Ahmad, Aristotle's *Poetics* (Greek) by G.N. Khayal, *Vethe-Hend-e-Mallar* (Sanskrit) by Prof. Sadhu, *Alif Laila* (Arabic) by Prof. Mohy-ud-Din Hajini……

As for pure prose, short story has become the forte about 50 per cent writers, though the works of even some of the mature authors such as Noor Shah, Deepak Kaul, Gh. Nabi Baba, Prof. H.K. Kaul, G.R. Santosh and H. Bharati are yet scattered in various journals only. Kathe-Manza Kath by Amin Kamil, Alao by Taj Begum, Adam Chhu Yethy Badnaam by Bansi Nirdosh, Zitni-Zool by Dr. Raina have been hailed by critics as successful experiments in this form—of course, besides, the award-winning creative works, referred to above. Even collections like Prof. Sadhu's *Qisas* or A.K. Rahbar's *Tabarukh* are not below the standard.

Novel

It must be frankly admitted that Kashmiri is deficient in novels; only two novels, Akhtar's *Dod Dag* (1963) and Gauhar's *Mujrim* (1969) can be adjudged as coming upto the mark. The notable translation of foreign novels include George Gorky's '*Mother*' by A.M. Lone, Prem Chand's *Godan* by Roshan and Tagore's *Chokher Bali* by Prof. P.N. Pushp.

Like novels, the novelette also is in its infancy-stage. Journals Soun Adab, Sheeraza, Koshur Abab and Nayb have recently begun drawing writers towards this branch of prose, though, in effect they appear better in essays than in the novelette.

Criticism

Till 1947, the famous poet Abdul Ahad Azad alone had the cheek to criticize a poet in a dispassionate manner and from amongst the Journals the Pratap Magazine alone would come to publish critical comments on celebrated poets even of Mahjoor's stature otherwise the general tradition of criticism was confined to either hurling a satire upon or parodying a verse of a poet, and then declaring a ceasefire between the two men of letters. Within the first decade we saw Professors Kaul, Hajini, Pushp, Rahi and Firaq, and the celebrated poets Nadim, Kamil and Arif, chiseling the taste and norms of literature in prose and poetry. Radio Kashmir also contributed a lot in its regular programmes on poets, prose-writers and their works. Once the rationale was provided in criticism, literary and cultural organizations at District and Tehsil levels began evaluating the critical canons in the East and in the West both of classical and modern ages. Almost all Colleges and Higher Secondary Schools have now assigned a permanent section in their magazines for criticism of Kashmiri literature. M. Y. Teng, Farouque Nazki, S. N. Zutshi, Saqi, Lone, Rahbar and Khayal have also aded a good deal to criticism during the two decades. Prof. Hajini's 'Kashre Nasrech Kitab' and 'Maquaalaat' contain some articles on this subject, while Prof. Kaul's 'Studies in Kashmiri' is the finest work on the literary criticism written in English till now.

Drama

Drama in Kashmiri had touched a high pitch in Sultan Zain-ul-Aabideen's time (1420-70) when Bhodah Bhatta wrote his Zaina Villasa, and when the stage-plays enjoyed royal patronage. The contemporary historian, Srivara, reports in his Zaintrangni that an actress singer could depict 49 emotions in her dancing as harmoniously as the musical cadence demanded. Sultan Hassan Shah surpassed all his predecessors in synthesizing the local fine arts with those of the Iranian and Indian prototypes. Drama, as a distinct branch of literature, though mostly preserved in verbal transmission, continued flourishing till the fall of Chak dynasty in 1586 A.D. With the advent of foreign rule, decline in all forms of Kashmiri literature was quite an expected misfortune ; consequently the folk taste had to survive through the professional bards, who in their turn reduced the stage drama to a clumsy performance in the open field. The Banda-Jashan became 'a sort of open air village folk-theatre managed by companies of professional players or ministerels depicting social ills and bureaucratic-tyranny, rarely alludings to some historic theme such as in Darza Pather. This degraded practice continued till the present century, when Nand Lal Kaul wrote *Satech Kahawat* (The Touch Stone of Truth) and three other less known plays—*Ramun Raj* (Reign of Shri Ram), *Paz Pativarata* (Savitri) and *Dayun Lol* (Devotee's Affection). These were over-Sanskritised in diction. After him, Tara Chand Trissal (d. 1948) wrote *Premech Kahawat* (1938) and three minor plays *Akanandan*, *Ramavtar*, and *Pazech Kahawat* with the same mental background as that of Nand Lal but in simpler diction till Mohi-ud-Din Hajini, while a college student wrote in 1939 his '*Grees-Sund Ghara*' (The Peasants Home), the first three act play in Kashmiri on Shakespearean pattern, depicting faithfully the social norms and exploiting agents in Kashmiri. It is probably the only work in prose selling in 3 editions within 5 years. In 1947 Kashmir became the war area, and the State was actually partitioned. Kashmiri writers also fell into two camps separated by the detested cease-fire line. The Radio Dramas in the two regions of Kashmir were first converged on the exigencies of propaganda rather than on canons of art. 'Kune Kath' type of plays in Kashmiri fall under this category. However, the young playwrights asserted themselves and began writing seriously. Of the 350 old drama features, reported by J.L. Kaul to have been broadcast by the Radio Kashmir till the end of 1967, a sizeable number merit publication, but have not been published. Heaven knows why ? Similarly the works of playwrights living beyond the ceasefire line (Taus Banhali, Naaz Kulgami, Ahmad Shamim, Masood Tabassum etc. are not available in the market for assessment; hence it will be too just to evaluate them in absence, or to adjudge the worth of such other playwrights on the basis of skits, features, Radio Plays broadcasted now and then on either side of the ceasefire line. D.N. Nadim's *Neki ta Badi* (Good and Evil) Kamil's *Habba Khatoon*, Wali's *Zoon*, Akhtar's *Naste-Hynd Swal*, are some of the first mature attempts during the fiftees. The two operas—Nadim's *Bomber ta Yamberzal* (1953) and Kamil's *Bombur ta Lolar* (1961)—are in fact the finest pieces in the form. One of our celebrated legends Heemal Nagiray has been woven into two forms, an opera by Roshan and Nadim, and a five act play by Pandit J. L. Jalali, the latter coming upto the standard at least in the theme, if not in dramatic technique. Some plays like Bhara's *Supnavasudatum* translated by N.K. Sharma are yet to be published. The Academy of Art, Culture and Languages has since 1958, been organizing play competitions every year and awarding prizes for play writing, production, acting and also staging the prize winning plays in the Tagore Hall. Yiti Chhu Banan (This too happens) by M.S. Butt, 'Research' by Pushkar Bhan and Som Nath Sadhu, *Taqudeer* by Mohd Subhan Bhagat, *Taqudeersaaz* by Ali Mohd. Lone, *Hawas* by M.L. Kemu have successfully been staged in the Hall.

There are now a number of classical dramas translated into Kashmiri under the direction of the Sahity Akademi Delhi,—Tagore's Mukta Dhara by A.M. Lone, Red Qleanders (Wozel Gulala) Malini, Sacrifice and Chandaliker by Noor Mohd, Roshan Dhak Ghar and Raza-ta-Raane by M.A. Kamil, Sontuk Abgath by Mirza Arif, Ibson's Ghost (Tsay) by Akhbar Mohy-ud-Din, and Wild Duck (Thuj) by Somnath Zutshi. Independent attempts to translate foreign players are also worth with the mention i.e. Shakespeare's Othello by Nadim, and Julius Caesar by Naji Munawer, Tagore's Chitra, and Goldsmith's 'She Starts to Conquer' by A.K. Rahbar, are, besides, some of the precious additions to our dramatic literature. Despite the Technical drawbacks, a number of plays staged by the Bhagat Theatre Akingam (under the directions of M.L. Kemu), and the Hero Machama and Waktuk Lukman by Pushkar Bhan have been presented well on the stage. Prof. S.L. Sadhu's 'Birbal' is a historical play, the first attempt in the form, but neither sublime in theme nor viable in style.

Though there is a long tradition in almost all higher educational institutions to stage plays written in Urdu or Hindi and occasionally in Kashmiri and though we have a number of playwrights engaged in writing one act plays, skits and shadow plays, it must be admitted that 'most of these make a contribution more than to drama' (J.L. Kaul); and that is why the numerous plays staged by various Dramatic Clubs before 1947, remained confined to social reform or local mythology, and could not raise the level to the artistic standards. It is only after 1960, that we find the balance gradually turning in favour of maturity in thought, and eloquence, freefulness and economy in diction.

CHAPTER 7

ASPECTS OF KASHMIR SAIVISM

NATURE OF MIND IN PRATYABHIJÑĀ

R.K. Kaw, M.A., Ph. D.

In Western Philosophy, rarely do we come across a system which regards mind as different from soul. The 'mind' of Western Psychology generally corresponds in Indian Philosophy to *manas*, *buddhi*, *cit* and *ahaṅkāra*, taken together and called *antaḥkaraṇa* or inner sense organ. These four entities may roughly be translated as 'thought', 'intelligence' or 'knowledge', 'recollection' and 'ego'—all of which in some way or other belong to *Ātman* (self). The only school of Indian philosophy that does not draw distinction between mind and *Ātman* is Buddhism, which does not affirm the existence of *Ātman*. The *Pratyabhijñā* school is peculiar in that, on the one hand, it agrees with other Indian schools in taking three of its categories, *manas* (undetermined thought), *ahaṅkāra* (ego or self-arrogation) and *buddhi* (determined thought), together as *antaḥkaraṇa* or mind at the empirical level, apart from *Ātman* and, on the other, it draws no distinction between mind and soul in the absolute sense, while affirming the functions of mind as activities of *Ātman* in its *vimarśa* aspect.

In the history of Indian Philosophy evolution of mind as a separate entity, apart from *Atman*, starts right from the

Upaniṣads. We shall notice what speculations are held about the nature of mind in various schools before explaining the point of view of the *Pratyabhijñā* school. In *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad* we are told that objects are higher than the senses, *manas*, higher than the objects, *buddhi* higher than *manas-mahat Atman* (cosmic person or cosmic intelligence) higher than *buddhi*, *avyakta* (unmanifest) higher than *mahat*, and *Puruṣa* higher than *avyakta* (*Kaṭha 3.10*). The *Aitareya Upaniṣad* gives the following as the names of *manas*, *Sañjñāna*, *Ajñāna*, *vijñāna*, *prajñāna*, *medhā*, *dṛṣṭi*, *dhṛti*. *mati*, *manīṣā*, *jūti*, *smṛti*, *saṃkalpa*, *kratu*, *asu*, *kāma* and *vaśā*. These are translated as 'determinate knowledge, feeling of lordship, dieffrential cognition, intelligence, wisdom, insight, fortitude, deliberation, thoughtfulness, impulse, memory, resolution, purpose, feeling of life, desire and passion for the opposite sex' (Aitariya. 3.2). The *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* gives the following functions of the manas : *Kāma*. *ṣaṃkalpa*, *vicikitsā* (doubt), *śraddhā* (faith), *ashraddhā* (disbelief), *dhṛti* (fortitude), *adhṛti* (unsteadiness), *hrī* (modesty), *dhī* (intelligence) and *bhī* (fear) (*Bṛhadāranya. 1.5.3*). Mind, in the Advaita Vedanta school, is the internal organ which consists of four divisions : *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahaṅkāra* and *citta*. The function of *manas* is doubting (whether the object is X or Y), of *Buddhi* is determining (that it is X), of *Citta* is recollecting, and of *Ahaṅkāra* is the attributing of experience to ego. While the *Advaita Vedanta* regards *buddhi* as an entity, as a subject and not a predicate as a substance add not as an attribute, *Viśiṣṭādvaita* of *Rāmānuja* treats it as a *dḥarma* or quality. As regards the nature of mind in *Pūrva-mīmāmsā* school, *Prabhākara* holds that *manas* is substance (*dravya*), atomic (*aṇu*), eternal and extremely mobile, and *Kumārila* treats manas as organ (*Indriya*, *Karaṇa*), but according to the latter, it never operates apart from the body. The *Mimāmsā* treats is as composed of only one entity, *manas*. In *Sāṅkhya* the *antaḥkaraṇa* consists of only three divisions, *buddhi*, *ahaṅkāra* and *manas*. No place is given to *Citta*, the function of which is included in *buddhi*. According to *Nyāya Vaiśeṣika* school, *Atman* is essentially consciousness, and the consciousness of *buddhi* is therefore due to the reflection of the consciousness of *Atman* in it. *Antaḥkaraṇa* consists of *manas* only. *Atman* presides over the activities of body and *manas*. Buddhism has no conception of *manas* apart from *Buddhi*, *citta*, or *Vijñāna*. Some of the Buddhists denied the reality of *Atman*, and others remained indifferent to the question of its existence. The Buddhists regarded human personality. which they call *pudgala*, as composed of five *skandhas*—aggregates : *rūpaskandha* or the aggregate of matter, *vedanāskandha* or the aggregate of feeling, *Sañjñānaskandha* or the aggregate of concepts, *samskāraskandha* or the aggregate of latent forces like instincts, and *vijñānaskandha* or the aggregate of consciousness. All these except *rūpaskandha* are mental. The Jaina philosophy, like the orthodox schools, distinguishes between *Atman* and *manas*; and though it treats the *manas* as the *antaḥkaraṇa* of *Atman* it calls it *anindriya* (non-sense-organ), as, unlike the sense-organs which are limited to their own particular field of knowledge, this apprehends the objects given by all sense-organs. Jainism gives the name *manas* to two different things, *dravyamanas* or substantial and *bhāvamanas* or ideal. The former is matter or *pudgala*, and the latter is the same as *Jñāna* or *buddhi* and so belongs to *Ātman*. Thus there is material as well as spiritual *manas*.

Atman according to *Pratyabhijñā* School, is '*Parkāśa-vimarśa-maya*'. It is not only self-luminous, but also self-conscious and free. *Parkāśa* implies luminosity of self *viz*. pure consciousness with respect to itself; *Vimarśa* has particular significance in the system. It also means consciousness but that consciousness functions at the empirical level, i.e. the consciousness with respect to external objects. *Prakāśa* is exclusively attributed to *Maheśvara* (the highest Being) in his *Viśvottīrṇa* aspect, i.e. when he is conceived as beyond this cosmos. In this aspect the *Parama Śiva* stands above all the categories, *viz*. principles of creation. It is the Transcendental state of the Ultimate, the Supreme Consciousness, free from qualities (*Nirguṇa*), *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* are indeed inseparable. There is no self-luminosity without self-consciousness and vice versa.[1] The whole universe from microcosm to macrocosm is endowed with *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa*, *Prakāśa* makes *Atman* conscious of itself and *vimarśa* makes him conscious of the external object world.[2] It is from this two-fold nature of the

Ultimate Cause, that all creation from an atom to a mountain, all that lives or can be said to exist in any form, in the form of sentient or insentient objects, macrocosm or microcosm, is endowed with powers of Will (*Icchā*), Cognition (*Jñāna*) and Action (*Kriyā*)[3]. The first power (*Icchā Śakti*) is technically called *Svātantrya Śakti* (Sovereignty of Will) which is the impetus behind all the creative thought and activity of an individual being. Sovereignty of will in relation to Cosmos (*Māheśvarya*) is the pivot of creation likewise. To *Maheśvara* in the form of *Ātman* (every individual soul) are further ascribed the powers of Rememberance (*Smarṇa śakti*). Knowledge (*Jañāna śakti*) and Differentiation (*Apohana śakti*), In the next para we shall notice the part played by *antaḥkaraṇa* in the *Pratyabhijñā* system, since all volitional, cognitive and conscious-physical acts at the empirical level presuppose the existence of mind.

Antaḥkaraṇa consists of *Buddhi*, *Ahaṅkāra* and *Manas*, according to *Pratyabhijñā* system. There is an agreement between the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Pratyabhijñā* on the conception of *Buddhi* so far as it is a common meeting place of both, the light of the *Puruśa* from one side and the reflection of the external object from the other. But *Puruṣa*, according to the former, remains always unaffected; it is pure sentient entity (*śuddha puruṣa*).[4]

But, according to the latter, *Puruṣa* (individual subject), though equally sentient, does not remain entirely unaffected under all circumstances. Further, according to the former, *Buddhi* is not objective (*asamvedya*), but, according to the latter, being an instrument of knowledge, it is knowable like any other instrument such as the mind. *Ahaṅkāra* is the product of *Buddhi*. It is nothing but the identification of the limited self with the *buddhi* and consequently the activity of the latter is attributed to itself. Its distinctive function is to control the five vital airs within the system and so the life itself. It is distinct from self-consciousness (*ahambhāva*), because while the latter is purely subjective (*svātmamātra viśrānti satattvaḥ*) and, therefore, without any objective reference, the former is due to superimposition of the self on the *Buddhi*. The *manas* is a product of *ahankāra* (ego). The element of Sattva predominates in it.

Without its co-operation with senses, no sensation of any kind is possible. It carves images out of the blocks of sensations and plays an important part in perception, as we shall see below.

In the *Pratyabhijñā* system the Ultimate Reality is conceived both as Universal Consciousness and Universal Energy. It is owing to these two aspects of the Ultimate Reality that the universe consists of mind and matter, subject and object. The psychological phenomena are attributed to the *Jñātṛtva śakti* (omniscience) of the Universal Consciousness (Parā samvit), whereas the physical phenomena appear from *Kartṛtva śakti* (omnipotence) of Universal Energy, the other aspect of the Ultimate Reality. *Pratyabhijñā* makes a very clear distinction between the physical and the psychological activities involved in perception. What happens, when a certain perception, takes place, is that the mind sets a certain sense to work. So long as there is no prompting by or the co-operation of the mind, the object, though reflected on the external sense, (retina in the case of optical sense, for instance), does not cause any sensation. When the sense comes in touch with the object, it receives the reflection of the latter, which may be said to consist of a number of sensations. The physical image is illumined by the light of knowledge proceeding from the self-luminous self, and casts its reflection through the medium of that very illuminating light on the *buddhi*. The psychological activity involved in perception corresponds to the physical in almost every way. It is, therefore, admitted by the *Pratyabhijñā* that the so-called one act of perception is not really one action, but a large number of them taken to be one because of their leading to one result, the judgment (*pramiti*).[5] The whole process from the time of illumination of the object by an external light to that of its causing the consciousness of *buddhi* to be affected, leads only to an indeterminate knowledge. After this begins the process which is distinctive of the determinate knowledge. The determinative process begins with the selection by mind (*manas*) of some points out of the mass reflected on the *buddhi*, as for instance, in the case of a person saying, " I am seeing a jar." It is not that he sees the jar alone. There are many other objects which are reflected on the *buddhi* through the retina. That part alone of the whole of the presentation (to his mind) which he selects to the exclusion of the rest of the presentation, leads to the determinate knowledge of the jar.

It is important to point out here that *Pratyabhijñā* school has propounded a theory, namely *Abhāsavād*, according to which each object, as we perceive it, is a momentary collocation of certain number of *Ābhāsas* (manifestations). It will be noticed that *Pratyabhijnā* has accepted the Bauddha theory of momentariness of both the subject and the object. Thus every object, according to the system, is momentary and both the psychological and the physical activities presuppose the identification of the self with the momentary manifestation of the body and the mind. Each and every *Abhāsa* requires a separate perceptual activity for its perception. The causal efficiency of each, however, depends upon its being determinately cognised which further depends upon the will, the immediate need and the analytical capacity of each perceiver. 'In perception, in which the objects are externally manifest, the manifestation is due to *Svātantrya* (sovereignty of perceiver's will), but in rememberance etc. it is due to the residual traces of the former experience.' (IPV. VI. 9) It has been stated (as a settled fact) that 'rememberance includes the perception within itself'. The perception, however, has two forms, because of the difference in intellectual reaction;

(i) Sometimes perception of the object is preceded by self-consciousness. In this case, of course, there is predominance of self-consciousness or will, as in "seen by me".

(ii) At other times he primarily perceives the object. In this case there is no will, but the object forcibly presents itself to the consciousness all of a sudden, or the subject is swayed by the idea of the causal efficiency (of the object) as in the case of "this". In this case also there is determinate self-consciousness. For, otherwise, the object will not shine.

Accordingly the forms of perception are two; so are those of rememberance also. Thus, with one sub-division of each (according to the two forms of perception) rememberance is of four kinds. Recognition also, which is the unification of the past and the present experience, is included in the six forms of knowledge. But because of the different forms of perception and rememberance, the recognition has eight forms. These being subdivided into two each, according as the past or present experience predominates, it has sixteen forms. There are thus, twenty-two forms of cognition.[6]

It is, therefore, clear that psychological experiences, like perception, rememberance, differentiation, recognition, ascertainment and so on depending upon *antaḥkaraṇa* are beheld in the system as the direct activities of *Ātman*.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. In fact these two are only two names of one and the same substance and that substance is *Parma Śiva* (the Ultimate Reality).
2. In other words, *Prakāśa* (luminosity) in *Pratyabhijñā* means what exists (: the manifested reality) and *Vimarśa* means what makes us aware of the existence of what exists. The relation of self-consciousness with the Universal Consciousness is just like a manifested bubble in a vast sea. Prak*āś*a is the Universal Consciousness and Vimarśa, self-consciousness in an individual being.
3. Kartari jnātari ātmanyādi siddhe Maheśvare.
4. Puruṣastu puṣkara—palāśavad nirlepaḥ kintu cetanaḥ.
5. Na ekaikatah pramāṇāt sā pravrttiḥ, api tu pramāṇa-samūhādeva.
6. dvāvimśati samvedanā bhedāh. (I.P.V. in 8).

CHAPTER 8

KASHMIR SAIVA REALISM

B.N. Pandit

The *Śaivistic* thinkers of Kashmir believe that the *self* has an absolute existence. Each and every living being is always conscious of his existence. His existence is always being felt. No living being requires the help of any element in feeling his existence.[1] He has not to depend even on his senses, mind, and intellect for this purpose, because when all these aids of knowledge vanish in a stage of dreamless sleep, the self feels itself as a witness to that stage. Had it not then existed as a witness, how could it afterwards recollect the *void* experienced therein ? Thus the *self* is always self-existant, self-evident and self-conscious. The *Turyā* or the fourth stage of consciousness can faintly be experienced by all of us in the highest pitch of an emotion and other such psychological conditions.[2] This stage can vividly be experienced by *yogins* in *Samādhi*. The experience of that *Turyā* stage makes the *yogī* feel that he exists everywhere and in everything and that everything exists in him. Further it helps him realise that he is pure *Prakāśā* or evidentness and that *Prakāśā* is pure *Vimarśa* or consciousness, and that he transcends the whole phenomenal universe.

The *Śaiva* philosophers, relying on this experience of the *Turyā* stage, affirm that this consciousness in itself is a sort of stir not a physical one, nor a mental one, but a spiritual stir. Every living being feels this sort of urge in him[3], which appears in the form of *will* to *know* and to *do* and every living being is always active in knowing and doing. Knowing[4] itself is an action and doing does not exist without knowing. Neither of these can exist without *willing* and *willing* is a sort of outward-movement-like activity of that subtle urge or stir of a living being. This stir appears like a vibration known as *spanda*. It is neither like a physical vibration of sound, or light, nor like a mental vibration of desire, passion, disgust etc. It is a movement-like activity of consciousness which is simultaneously vibrating outwardly and inwardly by its nature.[5] The inward and the outward movement of *spanda* are the subjective consciousness and the objective consciousness respectively. It is by virtue of this double-edged nature of the *spanda* that the self is experienced in both its transcendental and universal aspects in the *Turyā* stage, *Parama Śiva*, the *real self* shines through its own lustre[6] in the state known as *Turyātīta* which transcendes even the *Turyā* state. There it shines as 'I' which transcends the conceptions of transcendentality and universality. It is 'I' and 'I' alone. It is that lustre which is known as *Prakāśa* or evidentness and as *Vimarśa*[7] or consciousness called pure *samvit* in the *śaiva śāstra*. This 'I' is not the egoistic 'I'.[8] The egoistic 'I' takes either the gross physical body or the fine mental body or the subtle life-breath or the still subtler *void* of the dreamless sleep as its basis. But this 'I' consisting of *samvit* and *saṁvit* alone, is absolutely pure, and is the real self of every living being. Since its nature is a subtle stir, this *spanda* is known as *śiva* and as *śakti* on account of its transcendental and universal aspects respectively. The whole phenomenon exists in *Parama śiva* in the form of pure *samvit*, just as a plant exists in a seed in the form of the seed.[9] There is not even the faintest trace of a plant in a seed, but the plant exists there. How could a plant sprout out of a seed if it had not already existed there ? In the same manner the transcendentality and the universality exist in a subtler form in the *Parama siva* and, therefore, these two aspects of *him* appear in the stages of *śiva* and *śakti*.[10] *Śiva* and *śakti* are one. These two names are given to pure *samvit* because of the conception of its two aspects. This stage of complete unity is the stage of *śakti*. The phenomenal universe which exists in this stage in a subtler and seed-like form, becomes faintly evident in the stage of *Vidyā* which is the stage of unity-cum-diversity. It is a sort of sprouting condition of a seed. Both the seed and the sprout appear there, but both appear as one inseparable whole. This stage of *Vidyā* like that of *śakti* is always changed with the stir of *spanda* and by virtue of that stir it attains the form of clear imagination, *Vidyā* in itself is a sort of subjective imagination. The subject imagins itself as having the whole phenomenon as his body in the stage of *Vidyā*. The stage of clear imagination is known as the stage of *Māyā*, the stage of objective imagination. The phenomenon is imagined as something separate from the subject in this stage of *Māyā*. *Vidyā* is a sort of liquefaction of *śakti* and *Māyā* is a sort of solidification of *Vidyā*.[11] *Will* or *Ichhā* or *śakti* is the subtlest of the *lord* and in this form *He* starts to appear. The whole phenomenon, thus, is nothing but a sort of materialization of the *will* of the *Lord*.

It is clear, therefore, that the whole phenomenon exists. For worldly souls in the stage of *Māyā* it exists objectively. For those in the stage of *Vidyā* it exists as their own body; for those in the stage of *śakti* it exists as theirself and self alone. Thus it exists in all these three stages and, therefore, is something real. The absolute subjectiveness is its finest form and the gross objectiveness is the impurest one. The intermediate stage of *Vidyā* is pure when compared to *Māyā*, but is impure when compared to *śakti*. *Parama Śiva* descends from the stage of *śakti* to those of *Vidyā* and *Māyā* and then *he* ascends from the stage of *Māyā* to the two upper stages. He is always ascending and descending in countless forms. This ascending and descending is not any physical activity but mere imagination. He imagins *himself* to be a limited soul of the *Māyā* stage and appears like that. Again *he* recognizes *his* real nature as that of pure *samvit* and shines again as *Parama Śiva*.[12] All this is mere appearance and that appearance is based on imagination. That imagination is a sort of liquefaction-like activity of *will* of the *soul* and *his will* is an apparent form of *his* subtle urge of pure consciousness, as has been said above. Thus everything is the *Lord* and the *Lord* is every thing. What is real and what can be said to be unreal? The *self* is indeed real as it always exists. Its reality is the absolute one. The phenomenon also is real[13] because it also exists in *him*. Its phenomenal existence is the imaginative one. Existence is existence[14], let it be *Pāramārthika sattā* (absolute existence) or *samvitisattā* (imaginary existence). In fact the whole phenomenon has twofold existence. It always exists in *Parama śiva* in the form of pure *samvit* and that is its subjective existence.[15] It exists in the form of phenomenal universe and that is its objective existence. Appearance of these two types of existence is the real god-head of the *Parama śiva*. Had *he* not the capacity to make this twofold existence appear, then *he* alone would have existed or even *he* may not have existed at all. But *he* exists[16] and exists as the absolute god. His godhead makes the reality appear in two aspects of subjectivity and objectivity. The absolute objective aspect of the reality is the basic one, but its objective aspect also is real because it also exists within that absolute subjective aspect.[17] The changeover between these two aspects of the reality is the essence of that reality. This changeover is always going on gradually in countless forms and the countless stages of that gradual changeover is this whole phenomenon. All this is the manifestation of the energy of the pure *samvit*. That *samvit* and the energy of that *samvit* are real and both are in fact one and, therefore, all this is real. Reality and non-reality are merely two terms coined by worldly souls in order to manage to carry on the routine works of worldly life. Conceptions like the son of a eunuch, the horns of a hare and the milk of a tortoise are considered to be substantially non-existent, as these are mere conceptions. But this universe of numerous worlds and countless subjects and objects is not a mere conception. It enjoys the *samviti sattā* or imaginary existence which is one of the two kinds of existence. All imagination is real and existent for the time being. Had it not been so how could a mere imagination of an enemy arouse wrath in the mind of a hero? The difference between such an imagination and the appearance of this phenomenon is only this, that the imagination of a hero is the imagination of the self who has descended to the stage of *Māyā* and the appearance of the phenomenon is the imagination of the self while in the stage of *śakti*. *Māyā* is nothing but a sort of solidification of *śakti*. *Śakti* is real and, therefore, *Māyā* also is real and so is the phenomenon which appears in *Māyā*. Its reality is imaginary and not the absolute one. It is to be taken as real and existent. Then and then alone can any worldly activity or any activity connected with the study of scriptures practices of *yoga* and performance of devotion etc. he persued. This is, in short, the view of the *śaivistic* philosophers of Kashmir.

This realism of the *śaivas* is quite different from the *satkārya vāda* of the *sānkhyas*, which is based on the theory of modification of the *Prakṛti* or material energy. Material energy being lifeless, can never undergo by itself such a modification which brings into existence this complex universe, the evolution of which must have some definite aim. Thus[18] it presupposes the existence of some intelligent agent who keeping that aim in view, directs the material energy towards the evolution of this universe. The atomistic theory of realism of the *Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas* also is different from this doctrine of the realism of the *śaivas*. The *self* being always imaginative does create a world of his own even in this stage of *Māyā* while he is dreaming.[19] *He* does not require any atoms etc. for this purpose. A highly developed *yogin* can create a substance by mere materialization of his *will* without using any material for the purpose.[20] Why then imagine the *Lord* as using atoms etc. for the purpose of the creation of the universe ? The evidence of the experiences of the *Turyā* and *Turyātīta* stages also falsifies the theory of the atomistic realism of the *Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas*.

The realism of the *Hīnayāna* school of Buddhism has been considerably criticised by the *Mahayana* schools of that faith. The *Vedantist* theory of non-existence of the phenomenon is not quite convincing and still less convincing are the similar theories of the *Mahāyana* schools of Budhism.[21] The *śaivistic* doctrine, as presented above, is well established by the experience of the *Turyā* and the *Turyātīta* stages. The *vaiśnava* philosohers also have preached the same view as that of the *śaivas*; but they have not been able to establish it by sound arguments.

Instead, they have tried to impose far-fetched interpretations of their own on the scriptures.

NOTES & REFERENCES

[IP—Īśvara pratyabhijñā; IPV—IP Vimarśiṇī;
IŚ—Īśvarasiddhi; ŚD—Śivadṛṣṭi;
ŚJ—Śivajīvadaśakam; SK—Spandakārikā
TA—Tantrāloka; TS—Tantrasāra.]

1 कर्तरि ज्ञातरि स्वात्मन्यादिसिद्धे महेश्वरे ।
अजडात्मा निषेधंवा सिद्धिं वा विदधीत कः ।। (IP. I. 1/2)

2. अतिक्रुद्धः प्रहृष्टो वा किं करोमीति वा मृशन् ।
धावन् वा यत् पदं गच्छेत् तत्र स्पन्दः प्रतिष्ठितः ।। (SK. 22)

3. सा च दृश्या हृदुद्देशे कार्यस्मरणकालतः ।
प्रहर्षविदसमये दरसन्दर्शनक्षणे ।।
अनालोचनतो दृष्टे विसर्गप्रसरास्पदे ।
विसर्गोक्तिप्रसङ्गे च वाचने धावने तथा ।।
एतेष्वेव प्रसङ्गेषु सर्वशक्तिविलोलता । (ŚD. I. 9/10)

4. घटादिग्रहकालेऽपि घटं जानाति सा क्रिया ।
जानाति ज्ञानमत्रैव निरिच्छोर्वेदनक्षतिः ।
औन्मुख्याभावतस्तस्य निवृत्तिर्निर्वृति विना ।
द्वेष्ये प्रवर्तते नैव न च वेति विना चितम् ।। (ŚD. I. 24/25)

5. हृदये स्वविमर्शोऽसौ द्रविताशेषविश्वकः ।
भावग्रहादिपर्यन्तभावी सामान्यसंज्ञकः । (भावग्रहो विश्वात्मास्वीकारः)
स्पन्दः स कथ्यते शास्त्रे स्वात्मन्युच्छलनात्मकः ।। (TA. V)

6. उपायजालं न शित्रं प्रकाशयेद् घटेन किं भाति सहस्रदीधितिः ।। (TS)

7. स्वभावमवभासस्य विमर्शं विदुरन्यथा ।
प्रकाशोऽर्थोपरक्तोऽपि स्फटिकादिजडोपमः । (IP. I. 5/11)

8. अहं प्रत्यवमर्शो यः प्रकाशात्मापिवाग्वपुः ।
नासौ विकल्पः............................।। (IP. I. 6/1)

9. स्वामिनश्चात्मसंस्थस्य भावजातस्य भासनम् ।
अस्त्येव न विना तस्माद् इच्छामर्शः प्रवर्तते ।। (IP. I. 5/10)

10. न शिवः शक्तिरहितो न शक्तिर्व्यतिरेकिणी ।
शिवः शक्तस्तथा भावान् इच्छया कर्तुमीहते ।
शक्तिशक्तिमतोर्भेदः शैवे जातु न गण्यते ।। (ŚD. III. 2, 3)

11. Cf. Mātrkā-Cakra-Viveka of Śri Swatantrānanda Nātha.

12. येनोत्कीर्णं विश्वचित्रं स्वभित्तौ नानावर्णैश्चित्रितं येन भक्त्या ।
अन्ते स्वस्मिन् नृत्यते येन हृत्वा सोऽहं साहिबकौलकारामशम्भुः ।।
(ŚJ. I)

13. चिन्मयत्वेऽवभासानामन्तरेव स्थितिः सदा ।
मायया भासमानानां बाह्यत्वाद्बहिरप्यसौ ।।

14. एवं च संवृतिः विकल्पबुद्धिः तद्वशाद् उच्यतां संवृतिसत्यत्वं सत्यत्वस्यैव तु प्रकारः तत् । (IPV. II-2, 4)

15. CF 13, above.

16. अस्थास्यदेकरूपेण बपुषा चेन्महेश्वरः ।
महेश्वरत्वं संवित्त्वं तदत्यक्ष्यद् घटादिवत् ।। (TA)

17. भावाभावावभासानां बाह्यतोपाधिरूच्यते ।
नात्मा सत्ता ततस्तेषामान्तराणा सतां सदा ।। (IP. I. 8/5)

18. लोकयात्रानुसन्धानवतीं प्रज्ञां विना न हि ।
तथा चिकीर्षां च विना विचित्ररचनोद्भवः ।।
स्थूलता मात्रमेव स्यान्न तु लोकोपयोगिनी ।
रचना नियमेन स्याद्विचित्रा जातिरुपिणी ।। (IS. 31-33)

19. तदेवं व्यवहारेऽपि प्रभूर्देहादिमाविशन् ।
भान्तमेवान्तरर्थौघमिच्छया भासदेद्बहिः ।। (IP. 1. 50. 7)

20. चिदात्मैव हि देवोऽन्तः स्थितमिच्छावशाद् बहिः ।
योगीव निरुपादानमर्थजातं प्रकाशयेत् ।। (IP. 1. 5. 7)

21. एवमन्योन्यभिन्नानामपरस्परवेदिनाम् ।
ज्ञानानामनुसन्धानजन्मा नश्वेज्ज्ञानस्थितिः ।।
न चेदन्तःकृतानन्तविश्वरूपो महेश्वरः ।
स्यादेकश्चिद्धपुर्ज्ञानस्मृत्यपोहनशक्तिमान् ।। (IP. 1.3.6.7)

CHAPTER 9

REQUISITES OF KASHMIROLOGY*

P. N. Pushp

Kashmir's contribution to the heritage of India has been distinct enough to permit the use of a new term, *Kashmirology*, as an important branch of *Indology*. Its importance is manifold in terms of myth and legend, custom and tradition, religion and philosophy, language and literature, art and archaeology, and socio-economic as well as political developments in this integral part of India.

But very little of this contribution has so far been adequately explored and assessed, and systematically presented in spite of the pioneering work[1] done in many a field such as historiography, folk-lore philosophy and linguistics.

The first significant effort to survey, secure and preserve MSS was made in 1860-65 at the instance of Maharaja Ranbir Singh who unfortunately did not live long enough to see the important works published along with translation as planned. Later on, when the State Research Department was set up in 1902 the publication of the *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* was contemplated and more than six dozen works have appeared since. A remarkable record, no doubt, though very few of these publications meet the demands of critical and scientific editing as understood now. What one misses most in

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a majority of these is a thorough word-index and a revealing introduction and perhaps, critical or elucidatory notes whereever unavoidable.

Every effort has, therefore, to be made now not only to overcome shortcomings like these, but also to establish *Kashmirology* on foundations securer and more broad-based, by integrating the isolated bits of earlier research into a comprehensive whole. The emphasis, so far, has been on mere publication of MSS (mostly of religio-philosophical content), and, even the basic tasks like compilation of descriptive catalogues of MSS have all along been lying over for one reason or the other. It is high time, therefore, that these research problems are viewed in a more correlated perspective.

The problem of problems, obviously, continues to be that of salvaging rare MSS and compiling not only **Descriptive Catalogues** of the collections made (including those of art-pieces and other research material) but also **Source-material Miscellanies** on various aspects of *Kashmirology* so as to facilitate researches therein.[2]

The problem of compiling a **Bibliography of Source-material** is no less urgent, but it presupposes a thorough (: both intensive and extensive) survey of all the source-material lying scattered in private collections as well as in the MS libraries of India and the world. Yet a humble beginning[3] has to be made with the material noticed so far or accessible with a little effort.

Parallel to this basic task of compilation runs that of bringing out critical editions of important works defectively published or lying unpublished. In this connection it is gratifying to know that the V. V. Research Institute of Hoshiarpur has undertaken to bring out a revised edition of *Kalhana's Rajatarangini* and critical editions of the later chronicles by **Jonaraja, Srivara** and **Suka**. That is surely going to fulfil a longfelt need, but equally pressing is the need of collating these chronicles with their Persian counter-parts (versions or adaptations). Such an endeavour would light up many a dark corner and fill up many a gap in the History of Kashmir. The compilation of a *Concordance* and a *Variorum* in this connection would also prove of immense help in reconstructing quite a few lost fragments of our historical narrative as well as in checking up, reconsidering and revising many inaccuracies undetected so far.

Archaeology could have helped a great deal in this endeavour, but unfortunately it has yet to play its full role in digging up the very early layers of Kashmir's historical evolution. The crest of the earth has, no doubt, been scratched at a number of places; but very little digging of the right type has so far taken place except, perhaps, at a site or two. Research scholars would, therefore, feel grateful for any future programme of scientific excavation in Kashmir (including the far flung regions which have yet to feature in a historical account of the State). Meanwhile, a new hand-book on Archaeology in Kashmir with copious illustrations is a pressing need.

The task of bringing out an **Encyclopaedia** of *Kashmirology* is no less important, but to realize this objective, a few more preliminary and, therefore, urgent steps are inevitable. Thus, for instance, uptodate and authentic *surveys* of the various aspects of this heritage have to be made and published with exhaustive *indexes*. Besides, not only a **Biographical Dictionary** of the distinguished sons and daughters of Kashmir, such as scholars, writers and thinkers, but also volumes like a **Dictionary of Saivism and Sufism** have to be compiled. Such a work long overdue, is likely to promote a study of the religio-philosophical history of the land.

A new linguistic survey of the state would, no doubt, be covered by the forthcoming linguistic survey of India, in the near future, but that would hardly justify any delay in the preparation of **scientific grammars** and **linguistic introductions** to the mother-tongues spoken in the state; much less in the task of exploring, collecting, and compiling the *folklore* of the land. Unless these programmes are undertaken, no scientific study of the folk-traditions and the folk-patterns is possible. The preparation of specific *vocabularies* peculiar to different callings and vocations and spheres of activity has also to be taken up and carried on side by side. That will, incidentally help in collecting genuine source-material for the compilation of authentic dictionaries of the various mother-tongues spoken in the State, including a *Thesauras* and integrated *multilingual* *vocabularies* of all these tongues with English, Hindi and Urdu parallels. The indispensability of this source-material can hardly be overemphasized; for, a dictionary is not merely an alphabetical list of coinages or terminologies, but has to derive sanction from some sort of *diction* whether preserved in the written treasures or alive in the oral tradition. The programme therefore, calls for the constitution of a **Folklore Squad** of half a dozen competent young scholars trained in the technique of exploration as well as scientific notation of folklore material and equipped with a tape-recorder for the purpose. The material thus collected, would prepare the ground for *anthropological studies* also and provide a correct perspective for researches in the cultural evolution of Kashmir.

These, in brief are the requisites of *Kashmirology* which have to be minded by all workers in the field.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Cf. p. 8
2. Accordingly, the Department is at present working on the following, scheduled to appear in 1960–61 :
   Catalogue : Vol. 1 (*Historiography*) ; and
   Miscellany : Vol. 1 (*Zainul-a'bidin and His Times*)
3. With this idea in view a comprehensive survey of MSS lying undetected or unutilized in the various regions of the State is under consideration by the Department which proposes to bring out a Literary History of Kashmir in three Vols. during (1960-63.)

CHAPTER 10

MAHARAJA RANBIR SINGH AND HIS ORIENTAL TRANSLATION BUREAU

A. Q. SARVARI

Maharaja Ranbir Singh, second in the line of the Dogra rulers of Jammu and Kashmir State, was installed as full-fledged ruler by his father, Maharaja Gulab Singh, during his own lifetime in 1856 and he ruled the State for a long period of twenty nine years. The year following his accession to the Gadi was the most turbulent year in the history of India but a comparatively peaceful period in the history of the State,[1] and Maharaja Ranbir Singh utilized this occasion for an almost all round improvement in the administration of the State. Maharaja Gulab Singh, under the repeated pressure and appeals from British officers in India, had advised Maharaja Ranbir Singh to send an army to the help of the British. A copy of the letter written to Maharaja Gulab Singh ' by the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab dated 27th May 1857, expressing appreciation of the friendship of the Maharaja and his help to the British on previous occasions and appealing to him to stand with the British in their hour of supreme need, is preserved in a rare manuscript forming a part of the collection of Dr. Karan

Singh, the Governor of the Jammu and Kashmir State.[2]

An unknown author of a manuscript History of Jammu has referred also to a letter from "Lord Governor General Lawrence" to Maharaja Gulab Singh appealing to him for help, in response to which Maharaja Gulab Singh, then on his death-bed at Srinagar, sent a letter, to Maharaja Ranbir Singh at Jammu advising him to send help immediately. Consequently four batallions, the names of which as given by the said author, are Dhani, Narain, Braj Raj and Gowardhan, together with an artillery under the command of Diwan Hari Chand and an amount of rupees ten lakh was sent to Delhi.[3]

In view of this contemporary evidence, one finds it difficult to accept the statement of Sardar K.M. Panikkar that Maharaja Gulab Singh made the offer himself from his death bed.[4]

The army sent to Delhi returned to Jammu soon after the installation of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, and he ordered them to proceed to Gilgit under the command of General Devi Singh to recapture the fort of Gilgit which had slipped out of the hands of Maharaja Gulab Singh during the last years of his rule. Maharaja Ranbir Singh extended his territory also by adding Yasin and Varel[5] to it.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh's accession did not effect any change in the external or the internal policy of the State, as he was actually administering the affairs of the State during the last years of his father's reign and was trained for the work. But as soon as he resumed his duties as head of the State, he set about to reform and reorganize the entire machinery of the administration. He set up three distinct departments—revenue, civil and military, with clearly defined spheres assigned to each department. He also reorganized the judicial system of the State and got a penal code drawn up on the lines of Macaulay's code in British India.[6] Historians of Jammu and Kashmir have also referred to the efforts of the Maharaja to promote trade and commerce in the State. We have in our possession a valuable evidence in the form of a travel account which throws light on Maharaja Ranbir Singh's interest in the matter. He commissioned one of his officer, Sardar Mahatta Sher Singh to undertake a tour to the neighbouring countries to ascertain the possibilities of the promotion of trade between the State and those countries. We will speak about this important work later.

Apart from his administrative reforms the Maharaja was also alive to the educational requirements of his age.[7] Dr. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Sufi, writing about Maharaja Ranbir Singh's educational attainments states that he did not receive sufficient education and whatever education he had received was old fashioned and that he could read only Dogri.[8] But evidence goes to prove that Maharaja Ranbir Singh knew Persian also which was the language of the court and administration during his time. The author of *The Ruling Prince and Chiefs of India* writes that "the Maharaja was a great scholar of Persian."[9] There is a manuscript preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar, which contains model letters in Persian and is entitled, "*Insha-i-Ranbir*"[10] written by Maulvi Ghulam Ghouse, which were evidently meant for Maharaja Ranbir Singh and Maulvi Ghulam Ghouse appears to have been his Persian teacher. In the preface the author had praised Maharaja Gulab Singh and also Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The work was completed in 1298 A.H. (1881 A.D). The author of *The Ruling Princes* adds Sanskrit also to the list of languages that the Maharaja knew. Further, Dr. Sufi on another occasion refers to Maharaja Ranbir Singh's knowledge of Pushtu. He writes that "Maharaja Ranbir Singh was very fond of speaking Pushtu," and for this fondness of the Maharaja for Pushtu, he refers to an incident when an attempt was made on his life, after which, the Maharaja employed the Afghans in his personal bodyguard, with whom he used to converse in Pushtu.[11]

We have yet another and a circumstantial evidence of a European scholar of Sanskrit, Dr. Buhler, who visited the valley in search of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and he has written in his report that the Maharaja was pleased to take him round the Sanskrit Pathshala founded by him in the premises of the Raghunath temple and asked him to examine the students studying there. He adds also that the Maharaja personally assisted him in conducting the examination. Buhler's words are :

> "The active manner in which he took part in the examination, showed that he was well acquainted with the subjects taught."[12]

Now regarding the subjects taught at the Pathshala, Dr. Buhler himself, in his report, mentions "poetry, poetics grammar, philosophy, mathematics, algebra and euclid,"[13] and Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul adds, "Vedas and niyaya"[14] to the list. Evidently a person who does not possess a knowledge of these subjects, cannot be expected to assist in the examination of students.

The above references make one conveniently presume that, although Maharaja Ranbir Singh did not have the opportunity to receive formal education, he had extended his knowledge by seeking the company of scholars, like Emperor Akbar, and, as Dr. Sufi has tried to bring out the parallel, Maharaja Ranbir Singh had gathered scholars of various subjects and shades of opinion around him with whom he used to have discussions in emulation of the example of Akbar.[15]

Whatever his own standard of formal education, it is a fact that Maharaja Ranbir Singh did his utmost to spread modern education in the State. His interest in the promotion of knowledge was not confined to the boundaries of the State. He donated one lakh of rupees when the Punjab University was being established and in recognition of his services, was elected the First Fellow of the University.[16]

Besides the Pathshala at Jammu, Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul refers to one more Sanskrit Pathshala established by the Maharaja at Uttarbhani where instructions were imparted in the Vedas, Kavya Shastra (poetics) and Niyaya.[17] Dr. George Buhler mentions that there were Arabic and Persian classes also which were conducted in the 'maktabs' and 'madrassas'.[18]

The consecration of a shrine to the worship of Rama or Raghunatha, was one of the first steps that Maharaja Ranbir Singh took after his accession and as Dr. Sufi has described in detail, this temple gradually became a centre of religious establishments and classical learning.[19] The Sanskrit Library attached to the Pathshala at Jammu, contained about five thousand manuscripts. Arrangements were made at the Pathshala to train several hundred Brahmin pupils in various branches of learning and they were supported by the institutions.[20] Bamzai writes that "the temple was a splendid monument of the Maharaja's zeal for religion and letters."[21] The Maharaja also donated liberally to the Sanskrit institutions at Benares and Mathura and made ' provisions from the State for the students who studied there".[22] At home, he extended patronage to Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Urdu scholars and collected several learned men at his court.

Dr. Sufi gives a long list of the scholars who were attached to the court of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Prominent among them were Diwan Kirpa Ram, who was the prime minister of the Maharaja and was also, a scholar of Persian, and has to his credit three books, *Gulab Nameh*, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* and *Radd-i-Islam*, Pandit Ganesh Kaul Shastry, Dr. Bakhshi Ram, Dr. Surajbal, Neelambar Mukarji, Moulvi Ghulam Husain Talib of Lucknow, Moulvi Abdullah Mujtahid-ul Asr, Hakim Valiullah Shah of Lahore, Hakim Nuruddin Qadiyani, Baba Nasrullah Isai, Pandit Sahib Ram and Diwan Lachman Das.

Dr. Sufi calls these scholars, "the ornaments of the literary Darbar of Maharaja Ranbir Singh," in comparison with "the Nava Ratna" of Akbar's court.[23] Regarding Pandit Sahib Ram's Sanskrit scholarship, Dr. Sufi quotes the authority of Aurel Stein, who extols him as, "the foremost among the Kashmirian Sanskrit scholars of the last few generations."[24] To him the Maharaja had entrusted the important work of preparing a descriptive survey of the Tirathas in the State. Hakim Nuruddin was a prominent disciple of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiyani, after whose death he succeeded him as the Imam of the Qadiyani sect. In his autobiography he praises Maharaja Ranbir Singh for his patronage and help. Neelambar Mukarji was the Chief Justice in the State and Diwan Lachman Das was the governor of Kashmir and possessed some literary taste. He patronized one or two poets also.[25]

Dr. Sufi, to complete the comparison, dubs Kirpa Rama as "the Abul Fazi" of the court of Maharaja Ranbir Singh.[26]

Important as, no doubt, are these services of Maharaja Ranbir Singh in the field of administration and education, his greatest service to the nation was the institution, variously named by the historians as Translation Department[27] and Translation Bureau,[28] through which he tried to enrich the languages current in the State, namely, Persian, Urdu, Dogri and the classical language Sanskrit, by getting modern sciences and arts translated into them from the Western languages. The account of this institution given by the historians of Kashmir is incomplete and does not indicate fully its scope and the nature of the work undertaken at the Bureau. Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul writes :

> "A translation department was created to translate books on various subjects for use in the schools of the State. Subjects like geology and the physics were also dealt with."[29]

Dr. Sufi, on the other hand, says that, "Persian and Arabic works on historical, philosophical and other subjects were translated into Sanskrit with the assistance of Maulvis." Similarly Dr. Aurel Stein, who may be credited to possess first-hand knowledge about the work done at this important institution, does not also provide correct information when he writes :

> "Translation into Hindi of standard works selected from the whole range of *darshanas*, the *dharma* and other *shastras* were executed and partly printed with the object of spreading knowledge of classical Hindu learning among the Maharaja's Dogra subjects."[30]

But actually the object and scope of the project was much wider and more comprehensive than given by all the above three authors. The data available now indicates that the project comprised, besides inter-oriental language translations, the translation of modern subjects like physics, mathematics, engineering, medicine and other scientific subjects and useful arts into the languages spoken in the State. But what actually remains now of the work done at the Bureau, is only a fragment and consists of a few volumes on various branches of medicine, one or two volumes on engineering, a volume or two on useful arts like paper-making, cookery, etc. These volumes are in manuscript form and are preserved in the Research Library at Srinagar under "the Ranbir Collection." Apart from these translations, there are a few original works written or compiled at the Bureau which are also included in the above collection.

Among the manuscripts forming the Ranbir Collection, the largest number deals with medical sciences such as etiology, *materia medica*, anatomy, midwifery, paediatrics, etc. There are one or two manuscripts each on military science, paper-making, logic, cookery, lives of Hindu saints and Muslim prophets, the products and animals of Ladakh and travels, besides a few more in Sanskrit on classical learning.

This brief survey of the manuscripts shows that the medical sciences received the primary attention of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, but some other modern and useful subjects also were not lost sight of.

The scheme of translation adopted is also noteworthy. While some books have been translated into Urdu, Dogri, or Hindi, there are quite a good number which have been translated simultaneously into more than one language as will be borne out by the following details.

There are three manuscripts on *materia medica*[31] which are translations from English into Urdu, but the names of the original books have not been mentioned. MS. No. 191 mentions simply that it is a translation of an English work; one of these is a voluminous work running over three parts.[32] These are translations into simple and staightforward Urdu and the English technical terms have generally been retained with their explanations in Urdu and their equivalent terms in Persian.

Ilaj-ul-Amraz[33] which deals with the treatment of diseases is in Urdu and Dogri both and is a compilation based on English works executed under the supervision of Hakim Fazl Din of Sialkot, who is also the compiler of the Urdu section and as stated in the preface, he has added some Unani prescriptions also to the book. Dr. Mirza Amirullah Beg's help was also sought in the compilation. The translator in Dogri is Basant (Vasant) Rai. This work was commenced in 1925 Bikrami (1869 A.D.) and was completed in 1926 Bikrami (1870 A.D.).

Vasant Rai was also the translator of *Asbab-ul-Amraz-wal-Ilajat*[34] in Dogri, the Urdu translation being done by his father, Bhola Nath and both the translations included in one volume, were completed in 1885. Bhola Nath mentions that this translation was undertaken by the orders of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The preface is written in a highly ornate style which is full of rhetorical emblishments. He has euologized Maharaja Ranbir Singh and his love of learning. A free translation of the relevant portion is given below :

> "As the sacred disposition of the lord of the servants, whose reign outshines that of Dara,[35] possessor of the elevation of Suriya,[36] the dignity of Kaiwan.[37] the priceless peace of magnificence and glory, the jewel of the crown of greatness, the springtide of the garden of equity and justice, the lustre of the orchard of munificence and kindness, the monarch with a heart as large as an ocean, Shri Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, may God preserve his dignity and prestige, is inclined day and night towards the progress of rare sciences and unique arts and the well-being of his subjects, consequently, the arts and sciences have made such progress today, as had never been dreamt of in bygone days."

The writer then goes on to say that the Maharaja ordered him to compose the book in simple language, as the books available on the subject in Arabic and Persian were difficult for the understanding of the beginners. He further states that previously he had, under the orders of the Maharaja, rendered into Urdu, *Qanun*,[38] *Tashrih-e-Asbab*,[39] *Nafisi*,[40] *Sadidi*,[41] *and Tibbi-i-Akbar*,[42] etc.

Vasant Rai in his preface to the translation in Potuhari[43] gives some details about himself. He says that he is the son of Lala Bhola Nath and a resident of Nur Mahal,[44] and that he rendered the work into Potuwari (Potuhari) Bhasha in Samvat 1925-1926 (1869-1870 A.D.)

Another manuscript entitled, *Sharh-i-Asbab*[45] detailing the causes of diseases is also in Urdu and comprises two volumes.

It is a translation of a Persian work of the same title by Najib-ud-Din Samarqandi and the translator is Hakim Fida Mohammad Khan who completed the translation in 1287 A.H. (1870 A. D.). Hakim Fida Mohammad Khan has written in the highly ornate Urdu prose a long preface to the translation in which he narrates that he is the son of Ashraf-ul-Hukama Hakim Mohammad Yusuf Khan and a grandson of Zubdat-ul-Atibba Hakim Ghulam Hasan Khan. He also states that he undertook the translation under the orders of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and bestows high praises on him. In his euology and the emblishment of the style he lags in no way behind Lala Bhola Nath. An extract of the preface in translation is given below :

> "Hence in compliance with the orders of the exalted and dignified lord of the servants, the repository of generosity, the high pedigree administrator of justice, the nourisher of the subjects, the patron of knowledge and learning, the possessor of the status of Birjis,[46] and the rank of Kaiwan,[47] the bright sun of the elevated firmament, the luminous star of the sky of greatness, the repository of benevolence and kindness, the symbol of sublimity, the Raja of the Rajas, Shri Maharaja Ranbir Singh Bahadur, ruler of the dominion of Jammu and Kashmir."

The Hakim also refers to the love of learning of the Maharaja and writes :

> "His generosity and bountifulness and his large-heartedness and, above all, his great desire for the progress of learning and perfection is known throughout the world."

Hakim Fida Mohammad Khan bestows praises on Shri Pratap Singh, the heir-apparent of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Mian Amar Singh and also Mian Ram Singh[48] and states that through the help of Diwan Kirpa Ram he entered into the service of Maharaja Ranbir Singh under whose order he undertook and completed the translation at Jammu.

On the knowledge of the diseases there is a manuscript *Ilm-ul-Amraz*,"[49] and on etiology one manuscript bearing the title, *Asbab-ul-Amraz*.[50] one on midwifery with the title "*Dastur-i-Qabila*"[51] (instructions for a midwife) and one bears the English title, "*Anatomy*,",[52] and all these are translations from English into Urdu, both in Urdu and Devanagri scripts. The language is generally simple and some difficult technical terms have been explained in simpler language.

One more manuscript, again a translation from English into Urdu on Anatomy, transcribed in both the Urdu and the Devanagri scripts bears the title, *Tashrih-ul-Badan*."[53] The translation was completed in A.H. 1285 (1868 A D.) and the name of the transcriber given is Ramchandar Raina.

"*Amaraz-ul-Sibiyan*"[54] is on paedriatics translated from some English book into Urdu and transcribed in both Urdu and Devanagari script, but the name of the translator and the name of the original English book is not mentioned.

"*Hidayat-i-Paidaish-i-Bachcha*,"[55] embodies instructions regarding child-birth and is apparently a translation of some English book the name of which is not traceable. The name of the translator and the year of translation is also not given.

Apart from these manuscripts on medical sciences, among the other manuscripts forming a part of the Ranbir Collection, one important MS which deals with military science or engineering is entitled, "*Risala-e-Morchabandi*."[56] It discusses military fortifications in some details and appears to be a translation from English. Pandit Bakhshi Ram, whose name has been mentioned among the scholars attached to the court of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, is its translator and the date of the completion of the translation is 26th Savan, 1925 Bikrami (1869 A.D.). The technical terms used in the translation have been explained in simple Urdu and the English terms have also been used frequently.

Among the manuscripts on useful arts, one on paper-making which bears the title, "*Risala-e-Kaghaz Sazi*,"[57] is also important and is apparently a translation from English though the name of the original book is not mentioned. References to

Mr. Kempher occur in the text and the designs of the machinery used in making paper are also given.

The manuscript which deals with the art of cookery is entitled, "*Rahnuma-e-Rasuiyan.*"[58] and embodies directions for the preparation of various Indian dishes. The MS is undated and the name of the author also is not mentioned.

"*Kitab-i-Kubra-dar. Illm-i-Mantiq,*"[59] is a translation of a Persian treatise on logic of the same title in Sanskrit, Urdu and Hindi. The translation is given line by line on every page, first the Persian original under Persian, its Sanskrit translation and then the Urdu and Hindi translations which are permeated with the Punjabi and Dogri words and usages.

Among the two manuscripts, dealing with lives of Hindu saints and Muslim prophets, the "*Zikr-i-Auliya-i-Hunud,*"[60] is a translation of "*Bhakt Mala*" by Nabha-Das and contains notices on the life of about twenty Bhakti saints. It is written in simple Urdu language. The other MS bears the title, *Zikr-i-Halat-i-Ambiya,*"[61] and contains an account of the Muslim prophets beginning from Adam and ending with Prophet Mohammad. It is appended with a short account of a popular belief current among certain sections of the Muslims, the appearance of a promised prophet, Danyal.

The manuscript comprising the details of the products and the animals of Ladakh was compiled under the direction of the Ministry of Ladakh in 1885, the last year of the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and bears the title, "*Paidawar-wa-Janwaran-e-Ladakh.*"[62] It is an important MS giving very useful and interesting details.

A reference has been made regarding the travels of Sardar Mahatta Sher Singh. This manuscript bears the title, "*Safar Nameh-i-Mahatta Sher Singh,*"[63] and was completed in 1868. In his preface the Sardar states that he started from Srinagar on 16th Savan 1923 (1867) and travelling via Muzaffarabad, he visited Hazarah, Peshawar, Kabul, Balakh, Bukhara, Samarqand, Tashqand, Khuqand, Kashghar, Yarqand, Ladakh and some other adjoining places and after a tour of seventeen months, returned to the capital on 12th Katak 1924 (1868 A.D.). Then he wrote and submitted a detailed account of his travel to the Maharaja on 1st February, 1868.

Ince's Hand-book on Kashmir was translated into Urdu under the title "*Tarikh-e-Rahnuma-e-Kashmir*"[64] by Babu Nasrullah Isai, a reference to whom has been made. The translation was completed in 1874.

Ilm-i-Teer Andazi,"[65] dealing with the science of archery was written by Ghulam Ghouse Khan of Jammu under the orders of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Ghulam Ghouse Khan appears to have been a tutor of the heir-apparent, Mian Partap Singh in archery and refers to him familiarly as, "Mian Pratap." The book was written for his use. In the preface the Khan praises Shri Pratap Singh for his kindness and courage and Maharaja Ranbir Singh also for his valour. He explicitly says that the Maharaja ordered him to compile a book on the subject and it was in compliance of his orders that he wrote the book.

Some of the books translated or compiled at the Bureau were printed at the Vidya Vilas Press established by Maharaja Ranbir Singh at Jammu. Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul refers to *Shri Ranbir Prakash* (Ranbir Vidya Prakash, according to Dr. Sufi[66]), on diseases and their treatment, *Ranbir Vrat Ratnakar*, on Dharma Shastra and *Ranbir Bhakti Ratnakar* relating to Puranas among the works published.[67] To this list Dr. Sufi adds Bhagwat Purana, Ranbir Jyoti Prakash, Prayaschhittawali and Katha Sagar.[68]

The Vidya Vilas Press used to publish a bi-lingual weekly in Urdu and Hindi giving news and views.

But this very useful work aimed at educating the nation and disseminating knowledge came to a premature end with the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The Translation Bureau was transferred to the Research Department of the State.[69]

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. History of Kashmir by Bamzai, p. 613. See also, *Tarikh-e-Jammu* by Maulvi Hashmatullah, p. 6.
2. The MS was very kindly lent to the present writer by Dr. Karan Singh for consultation.
3. MS No. 770, Research Library, Srinagar.
4. The Founding of the Kashmir State by Sardar K.M. Panikkar, p. 150.

5. Tarikh-e-Jammu, *Supra*, p. 66. See also Kashmir Through Ages, p. 127.
6. History of Kashmir, p. 613.
7. Kashmir by Dr. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Sufi, Vol II, p. 802.
8. *Ibid.*
9. The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, p. 22
10. MS No. 161.
11. Kashir, Vol. II, p. 789.
12. Dr. Buhler's Report, *Vide* History of Kashmir, Bamzai, p. 615.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Kashmir Through Ages, p. 142.
15. Kashir, Vol. II, p. 789.
16. Kashir, Vol. II. p. 791 ; Kashmir Through Ages, p. 141.
17 Kashmir Through Ages, p. 142.
18. Report *Vide* History of Kashmir, p. 615.
19. Kashir, *Supra*.
20. *Supra*, p. 790.
21. History of Kashmir, p. 615.
22. *Supra*.
23. Kashir, Vol II, p. 802.
24. *Ibid*, p. 790.
25. For some details regarding Diwan Lachman Das please refer to the article by the present writer, "*Naya Shaur*" December 1963.
26. Kashir, Vol. II, p. 802.
27. Kashmir Through Ages, p. 141.
28. Kashir, Vol II, p. 790. See also: History of Kashmir, p. 615
29. Kashmir Through Ages, p. 141.
30. Introduction to the Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss at Jammu.
31. MS Nos. 190, 191 and 413.
32. MS No. 413.
33. MS No. 196.
34. MS No. 398.
35. Darius the Great, Emperor of Iran.
36. Pleiades.
37. Saturn.
38. Al-Qanun-Fit-Tib by Abu Ali Sina.
39. A Commentary on Kitab-ul-Funun-wal-Asbab by Nijabuddin Samarqandi.
40. By Allama Burhan-ud-Din Nafis of Karim.
41. A Commentary on Mujiz by Shaikh Sadid-ud-Din Gazaruni.
42. By Syed Ali Akbar of Delhi.
43. Or Pothwari, a dialect spoken round about Punch.
44. A town.
45. MS No. 447
46. The Jupitor.
47. The Saturn.

48. 'Mian used to be the title of the heir-apparent or the Prince'.
49. MS No. 200.
50. MS No. 196.
51. MS No. 194.
52. MS No. 458.
53. MS No 198.
54. MS No. 236.
55. MS No. 446.
56. MS No. 438.
57. MS No. 444.
58. MS No. 455.
59. MS No. 426.
60. MS No. 456.
61. MS No. 437.
62. MS No. 434.
63. MS No. 463.
64. MS No. 433.
65. MS No. 435.
66. Kashir, Vol. II, p. 792.
67. Kashmir Through Ages, p. 142.
68. Kashir, Vol. II, p. 792.
69. *Ibid*, p. 8 03.

CHAPTER 11

KASHMIRI POETRY

SOME FORMS AND THEMES

J. L. Kaul

I

I said yesterday[1] how very grateful I was to the University authorities and, in particular, to Mr. Vice-Chancellor for doing me the honour of asking me to deliver these extension lectures. Today I have a greater reason to be thankful, not only because I am on surer ground this afternoon in regard to what I am to speak as one who is to the manner born ; but that, Kashmiri has been given the status of being lectured on, so to say, from a University Chair. I believe that the University also has a reason to feel satisfied, for lectures on Kashmiri language and literature (and I would plead for lectures also on the literature Kashmiris produced during the Classical Sanskrit and Medieval Persian periods of history)—these lectures, particularly on Kashmiri, will justify the University's qualitative individuality.

I miss very sadly here today a friend and collegemate of mine, who later became the first Deputy Registrar of this University, the late Pirzada Ghulam Rasool. In the last thirties, I remember how he, with the authority and familiarity of an old college friend, dealt me a mild rebuke: "Why, what has happened to you, Kaul? We expected better from you than this exhuming of old forgotten songs of our language which we never cared for. And, anyway, what's there to it?" What is there to it? Even apart from considering and evaluating what there is in Kashmiri, we educated Kashmiris, let it be said with a sense of shortcoming in us (I am using the mildest word I can find), often ignore that it is our mother tongue. Language, some of us wrongly suppose, is a mere dress or a vehicle of thought. Language is really the flesh-body of thought which cannot be separated from it. If our flesh body dies, we die too; and if language is weak, thought will inevitably be poor. If the language is not our own, our thought will normally be imitative and second hand. Most educated Kashmiris of today have to go without the intimate revelations of the poetry native to them, the poetry which alone could (their knowledge of foreign and other Indian languages notwithstanding) vibrate the strings of their heart with the incantation of its verse, its music and meaning; and they have to wean themselves away from the intimate sympathy which it alone could quicken within them and bind them with the life and people around. A poor life this !

Anyway, what is there to it? That is the question I am attempting to answer this afternoon. But, I hope, it will be granted me that I cannot review the whole of our literature or all its literary art-forms. I shall confine myself strictly to the limited scope of the subject I have chosen. I do hope, however, that even this sketchy and not very competent review will show that, if we compare our effort (the effort really of our women and villagers, for it is to them that we entrusted for too long our literature for whatever they could do with it)—if we compare it with what was done in many other literatures at the comparable stage of neglect or, if you will, development, we have little reason to fight shy of it. And more. There are a few things (I will not say many) in our poetry, even as it is, that will compare favourably with what has been done elsewhere in the same genre.

II

For sometime now we have recognized four main periods of our literature, excepting the period in which we are now. I may here utter a word of caution known to every student of literature. Literary movements do not blaze forth or fade out all on a sudden. They go on not only when revolt against a particular tradition is brewing, but also even after it has succeeded in overthrowing it. Literary movements really dovetail one into another. Therefore I mean nothing more by this datewise division (and others could be suggested) than a division of convenience for dealing with the subject in historical perspective. These period-wise divisions are :

I. Upto 1555, when Sultan Habib Shah, last of the Sultans of Kashmir and of Shah Mir dynasty was dethroned, and Ghazi Chak ascended the throne.

II. 1555 to 1752, that is, from the coming of the Chaks to the time when Ahmad Shah Durrani conquered Kashmir, and ended the Moghal rule which had followed the rule of Chaks.

III. 1752 to 1925—a long period—which can be divided into three sub-periods:

(a) 1752 to 1846, that is, from the coming of the Afghans to the coming of the Dogras, ending the short Sikh rule which had followed the rule of the Afghans.
(b) 1846 to 1885, that is, the reign of the first two Dogra Maharajas, Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh.
(c) 1885 to 1925, the reign of Pratap Singh till his death.

IV. 1925 to 1947, from the death of Pratap Singh to the coming of Independence.

V. 1947 onwards, that is, the present period.

In the first period we have Shiti Kantha's *Mahaanav Prakaash*, Lal Dyad's and Shekh Noor-ud-Din Wali's *Waakh*, and Bhattaavataar's *Baanaasura Kathaa*. This is the period of the poetical form which we call *waakh* (from Sanskrit *vaakyaani*, word). A *waakh* is mostly a 4-line stanza, complete and independent in itself, a sententious gnomonic verse, mystical or didactic. Shithi Kantha's *Mahaanay Prakaash* has more linguistic and prosodic interest than literary; and its about 94 verses, each a 4-line stanza, deals with the practices of esoteric schools of the time ; Here's an example :

इतयओवलीन परम्पर
दीपमाला जन अंधकार
धमित धाम उदयेत निरन्तर
दिशिशपायवतु अविकार ॥

(IX *Udaya*, 7th St.)

It has been noted by Sir George Grierson[2] that the language is old, and belongs to the period when Prakrit, in the Apabhramsa stage, had just merged into the language that finally became the Kashmiri of the present day. In the Kashmiri of today it would read :

yitshu'y avaliyan hu'nz paramparaa*
duu'pmaalaa zan andu'kaaras
kaa'sith, 'daam' nyarantar wwadayas yith
awikaar wwapaayich wath d'eshana yiyi

It has been one of the few fortunate events of our history that about the very first of our poets should have been Lal Dyad, (Granny Lal) affectionately so called, because after leaving her house, she wandered about the Valley in a semi-nude state, her abdomen (*lal* in Kashmiri) increasing in size and hanging loose over her public region. We know from her verses that she was upbraided by some and respected by others; but neither praise nor blame seemed to affect her. Moving about in a thoroughly unconventional manner, eclectic in her sayings, and even critical of orthodoxy, its dogma and ritual, and, what's more, speaking of the secret doctrine and her experiences in a language which was neither Sanskrit nor Persian (the one having lost favour, the other not yet firmly established about the middle of the fourteenth century)—speaking in Kashmiri, the despicable native tongue of the lower classes, Lal Dyad's name does not occur in the Sanskrit histories which continued Kalhaa'ns chronicle, those of Srivara or, after him, of Shuka or of Praja Bhatta. It is, for the first time, in the *Twaarikh-i-Kashmir* by Khwaja Dyadamari (written about 1730 A.D. when her fame had become irresistable) that we find a mention of her. We are here concerned with her *Waakh* or sayings which have had a mighty hold on people's thought and affection, whether Hindu or Muslim, scholar or peasant, all alike. While she continued the tradition of the indigenous Saiva philosophy of Trika Monism, she gave expression to it not only in a popular form in which people could understand it but, much more significantly, in the real language of the people themselves. Perhaps, for the first time in the history of Kashmir were mystical truths and the disciplines relevant to their realization made available to the people, then mostly unlettered here as elsewhere in the world, in the language they spoke and not in Sanskrit which much fewer people could understand. It is however not the abstruse truths of philosophy nor the discipline of vital airs, of *Kundalini* and *Nada-Binda* Yoga, that made her the poet-saint of the people. It is rather the intensity of conviction and faith, the stamp of genuine mystic experience, the authenticity of her poetic expression, and the energy of idiom and terse homely imagery, unsurpassed till the present day, that give her verse-sayings a lasting eminence both in the people's minds and in the literature of Kashmir. Her sayings have become current coin even in the speech of today and retain freshness of appeal. In her verses we find a passionate apprehension of mystical truths which is the mark of a God-realized saint. There is little sentimental and didactic moralising 'which marks the sayings of less surer mystics. Moreover, she rebelled against hypocrisy, the outward observances of orthodox ritualism of the time and its exclusiveness. Let me illustrate :

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* Key to pronunciation at the end.

1. diva wat'aa diwur wat'aa
        pyat'ha bwana chhuy yeeka waat'h
    pooz kas kharak hot'ha bat'aa
        kar manas ta pawanas sangaat'h

2. naaba'dy-baaras at'a-gand' d'yol gom
dyan-kaar ho'l gom hyaka kahyoo
gwara-sund wanum raawan tyo'l pyom
pahali-ro'st khyo'l gom hyaka kahyoo

3. aami pana so'dras naavi chyas lamaan
kati bozi day myon me-ti diyi taar
aamyan t'aakyan pony zan shamaan
zuv chhum bramaan gara gatshahaa'

4. po't zooni wo'thith mo't bolanovum
dag lalanaa'vu'm dayi-su'nza prahey
la'ly karaan laala vuzanovum
meelith tas man shrotsyom dahey

5. Lal bo' loosu's tshaaraan ta gaaraan
hal me' ko'rmas tasa-nishi ti
vuchhun hyo'tmas taad'y d'ee'thymas baran
me'ti kal ganey-yi zi zogmas ta'ty

6. she' wan tsat'ith shyashi-kal wuzu'm
prakrath ha'nzum pawana suu'tee
lolu'ki naara waa'linj buzu'm
Shankar lo'bum tamiy suu'tee

1. The idol and the temple are but stone.
stone they are and nothing more.
O silly Pandit, whom does thou worship ?
Unite thy mind and breath in Him alone.

2. The candy-load upon my back has gone loose,
my day's work has gone away, ah me !
My guru's word, like a blister, has pained my heart.
my flock shepherdless, is gone astray, ah me !

3. With a rope of untwisted thread I tow my boat,
Would God hear my prayer and bring me safe across !

Like water in cups of unbaked clay I waste
away.
Ah, how I long to reach my home !

4. "When the moonlight ended with the dawn.
Mind of her self with illusion mad,
Lalla to the love of God had drawn,
Soothing the pain that had made her sad :

Cried to her Beloved : It is I.
Lalla, Lalla, that awakens Thee :
Buried in the crystal like doth lie
All the defilement that darkened me".[3]

5. Searching and seeking Him I Lalla, wearied
myself,
and even beyond my strength I strove ;

then, looking for Him, I found the doors
closed and latched.
This deepened my longing and stiffened my
resolve ;
and I would not move from where I was.
with love and longing, looking out for Him.

6. I cut my way through the six Forests,
when light shone forth from the Awakened
Moon.
I controlled the vital Airs and Prakriti froze
and shrank.
Then I parched my heart in the fire of love,
and thus came to Shanker, the Supreme Self.

We note, in these and other *waakhs*, the variety of rhyme-schemes, *abab*, *abad*, *abcb*, or no rhyme at all. The metre is qualitative stress accent, four accents to each line generally and not a strict short and long quantity measure. This is also with the *waakh* of her younger contemporary, Sheikh-ul-aalam, Shekh Noor-ud-din Wali (popularly known as Nund

Ryo'sh) of Tsraar-I-Shareef. It is time somebody did for his *waakh* what Grierson has done for Lal Dyad's so that we could have a definitive edition of his verse sayings. What we know of them, however, is enough to vouch for saying that his *waakh*, more didactic in tone and content than Lal Dyad's, have enriched our language with wise saws and pithy sayings that have become proverbial as for instance.

Poshinool poshi vaariy gaaraan
mwagul gaaraan hunity vaas
shaa'j shinyaalay gaaraan
khar gaaraan guh lyad ta sass.

The oriole seeks out a flower garden ;
The owl seeks out a deserted spot,
The she-jackal searches dreary wastes,
The donkey searches dung and dirt.

but he could also be piercingly intense :

a'shk chhuy kun gobur maaji marun
swa zwala kari ta kihay
a'shk chhuy gunatularyav paan barun
su swakha rozi ta kihay
a'shk chhuy ratnajaama tani paa'raavun
su aah kari ta kihay

Love is death of an only son to a mother—
Can she have any sleep ?
Love is venemous stings of a swarm of wasps—
Can the victim have any rest ?
Love is wearing a robe dripping with blood—
Can the wearer utter a sigh?

Bhattaavataar's *Baanaasura Kathaa* (discovered in the Bhandarkar Oriental Library, Poona) is, as the author tell us, based on the romance of Usha and Anirudha narrated in the *Harivamsha Puraana* ; but we must await a properly edited publication of it before we can assess its linguistic worth and literary merit. It is the first secular poem that can be dated, having been written in the reign of Sultan Zainul-Abidin Badshah (1420-1470 A.D.) Here is a specimen :

जैननि पाने विमलें राज्ये षड्विंषे वर्ष कतकिय ।
दिव सरस्वत पूजेत आज्ये हरिवंशस अन्धर वंथिय ॥

The same must be said of Ganaka Prashasta's *sukhadukha-charitam*, a Kashmiri didactic poem on the act of happy living. that manuscript of which, also discovered at Poona, is still not available to us.

III

We come now to the second period, 1555 to 1752. During this period Persian is firmly established not only as the official language but also as the language of literature, and talented Kashmiris turn to it for giving expression to their thoughts and feelings. Maulana Shekh Yakoob Sarfi Ganai (1522-1594) produced his encyclopaedic work during this time ; and to this belong also Mirza Akmal-ud-Din Kamil, the author of *Bahar-ul-Irfaan*, a Persian *masnavi* of 80,000 couplets, and Khawaja Habib Ullah Nawsheri (1555-1617), who wrote treatises on mysticism. While these substantial products of mind find expression in Persian, songs continue to be written in Kashmiri. Many of these songs are mystical in the *waakh* style. This for instance :

ye'my ko'r sara panun paan
mas baanan t'haan mutsaraa'vith gav
chhiv lagyas hosh nashas
mashas pananuy paan
na su zaani he'ndy wwapath
na su musalmaan.

Whosoever realizes his own true self,
Uncovers the vessel of wine,
Overflows with joy, is intoxicated,
And forgets his lower self.

He will not know a Hindu
Or a Musalman.

But in many other songs there appears a pronounced change. They become longer in the length of the line and the number of lines, and a refrain is added to them as, for instance, in this poem ascribed to Khwaja Habib-Ullah Nawshehri.

a'shku'ni maa'daana traavyaam hay
hay tavay t'ot'hyom paanay day
ya'mi da'ryyaawa a'sy paa'daa gay
layi roz tamikuy may aaparay

"vajalnaa minalmaa-i kul shayin hay"
hay tavay t'at'hyom paanay day

keyntsav pyaala chay payaapay
kentsan chawaan sapuduy tay
kenh gav taari ta kentsan chhu say
hay tavay t'ot'hyom paanay day

I surrendered completely to love,
and God is pleased with me.

Be true in love and you will be given
a taste of the wine which fills the River of Life,
that brought us hither ; from whose waters
God hath made every living thing.

Some drink cup after cup unceasingly ;
some, in the very act of drinking attain to the Goal ;

some wait and they still have hope ;
some wait and wait, unavailingly.

The chief contribution of this period is, however, a new kind of song which tells of secular human love. This is the *lol* lyric, a song set to music, wherein the poet sings of his *lol*, a

Kashmiri word signifying an untranslatable complex of love, longing and a tugging at the heart. The *lol* lyric is a short poem, an utterance of a single mood, rarely in more than six or ten lines, including the refrain. It is a thing of music, a very melodious music, with its end-rhymes and medial rhymes and ever-recurring refrains, its alliterations and assonances that come naturally as the very stuff of the language which has a high proportion of vowels and semi-vowels to its consonants, and in which aspirates, gutterals and harsh consonants are rare. There is a looseness and a flexibility of rhythm as in the verse of Lal Dyad, and the metre is not yet made to fit in quite within the precision of Persian quantitative pattern. It is not an intellectual lyric, it states no theme. It is written as though to relieve the mind in song and to find

> "...a very echo to the seat
> where love is throned."

And, as in the *braja* tradition, it is the woman that is the lover and seeks to give utterance to her love. She sings of love in many moods : the spring is come, the flowers are in bloom, and the kokil (tuttle-dove) and tiriv (bush-chat) are here but 'where are you ?'

ranga ranga saa'ry gul aay
madano kati chaa'ny jaay
raa'naa zeybaa gulaab aay
shab-boy maa'nziposh swanaposh draay
kaaripa'ty ta so'mbulan ka'r graay
madano kati chaa'ny jaay

Flowers have bloomed in all their hues,
Love where are you ?
The rose has come, graceful and lovely,
the tuberose, the balsam, and the *sonaposh* have
come out,
the larkspur and the hyacinth have burst daintily
into bloom,
Love, where are you ?

OR

la'j phulay andwanan
tse' kanan go'ynaa myon
la'j phulay kolasaran
wwaathoo neeryan khasu'wo
pho'j yosman andwanan
tse' kanan goynaa myon

The distant meadows are in bloom
hast thou not heard my plaint ?
Flowers bloom in mountain lakes,
come, let us to mountain meads,
The lilac blooms in distant woods,
hast thou not heard my plaint ?

Then the long long waiting till the days drag ; but he does not come and the yearning deepens :

kukiley puu'ry kawa traa'with kwalaraadan
dukalcy wwandi myon gaw
me' kaley chaaney braa'nty gaa'mo naadan
aadanbaaji myaani yaaro wey
tseynto lad'ury posh pho'ly kwalaraadan
az chhum aadan vaatahamay
dihamay darshun sar vanday paadan
aadanbaaji myaani yaaro wey

Like a kokil-dove you moved along the wandering rills,
and distraction filled my heart.
Beguiled by love, I fancied you were calling me,
My love, Companion of my Youth !
Think of the flower bloom along the rivulet banks,
this is the time I look for you,
this is the time for you to come.
O, were you to come, what would I not do for you ?
I would lay down my life for you,
My love, Companion of my Youth !

Then comes the questioning and doubting of Love's fidelity, and wailing and lamenting. It is true that we find little abandon to joy, sensuous or supernal, and little gaiety of tone in these songs. They usually sing of absence and separation and even infidelity ; but some of them can be very lovely, as lovely as such songs and airs can be. This delicate song for instance :

myaani madan hiyo hiyo
chham chaa'ny laadan
haa yiyo yiyo
darshun diyo diyo
chham chaa'ny laadan
aadana tse'y suu'ty karyaam vaaday
vaada kawa d'o'lham piyo piyo
chham chaa'ny laadan

My Love, my Jasmine, my Jasmine,
I long for thee.
Come, O come,
and show thyself ;
I long for thee.
I plighted, when young my troth to thee,
why didst break thy troth, O sweet, O dear ?
I long for thee.

OR, this one, more substantial but equally musical :

yaam hoori, me' t'oori tsandum mo'loomay
taamath tso'loomay yaar ve'see
dapyaam aagas bo' roshi zaagas
laagas bo' sheyri hee
wwandu'kis baagas poshaah pho'loomay
taamath tso'loomay yaar ve'see

Hardly had I, a budded houri, bathed me in sandal-oil,

when Love deserted me and went away.

Methought I would lie in wait for him,
With jasmine to crown his head;
a rare flower had bloomed in the garden of my heart—
When Love deserted me and went away.

I would quote many more of these songs which I love and which, in a sense, are typically Kashmiri. These songs are now dead. They are no longer written. Most of them are of unknown authorship and have come down to us by word of mouth and oral tradition ; while many of them are found recorded, interspersed, among Persian songs and ghazals, in the manuscripts of *mausiq* is or songs set to music, with appropriate directions of *raag* and *taal* and *muqaam*. Two famous writers of these *lol*-lyrics are undoubtedly women. Habba Khatoon, who lived in the sixteenth century and romantically became the spouse of the last Chak King, Yusuf Shah, conquered and exiled by Akbar ; and A'rnimaal, the disappointed spouse of the talented author of Persian *bahari taveel*, Munshi Bhawani Das, who lived later, in the Afghan times.

IV

The third period is a prolific period, and I can only briefly dwell upon the new forms that poetry took. We find that Kashmiri literary men, albeit of countryside mostly, begin to own their native tongue and use it for poetical compositions, closely modelling their verse, however, on Persian. Kashmiri verse loses its looseness and flexibility and the metre is now more correct and strait-laced, and the language is, inevitably full of Persian words and phrases not always fully assimilated. These poets imitate the Persian *masnavis* and write their narrative poems in couplets employing Persian *bahar*, mostly *bahar-i-hazaj*. This, in itself, would be a gain, not a loss, for, being a sweet language and the language of polite courtly culture, Persian lends itself easily and musically to a welding with Kashmiri. But we find poets borrowing wholesale not only epithets and phrases, often stale enough, but also hackneyed magery and conceits and hyperbole of decadent Persian poetry.

The Kashmiri poet now turns to old Persian themes of legend and story and history, to Shirin and Farhad, Laila and Majnoon, Wamiq and Uzra, Sohrab and Rustum. Of the first sub-period of this long period, from 1752 to 1846, the chief poets are Mahmood Gaami and Prakash Ram of Kurvgom. Of the second viz ; 1846 to 1885, the chief poets are Paramanand and Maqbool Shah ; while during the third sub-period, 1885 to 1925, we have Rasool Mir, Abdul Wahab Parey and Krishna Razdan. There were many more, some of whom will find their name and works mentioned in a history of Kashmiri literature ; but I must pass them over, concerned as I am only with the main forms and themes of poetry.

This is the age of metrical romance, when stories or legends of love and adventure are poetized. Many tried their hand on this type of verse composition, and sometimes two or more poets wrote on the same theme and story. Here is a short list: *Sri Ramavtaar Charit* by Prakash Ram; *Sri Krishnavtaarlila* by "Dinanatha" ; *Guli Bakaavali* by Hakeem Iblee Shekh ; *Wamiq Uzra* by Peer Muhammad Safi-ud-Din ; *Heemal* by Waliullah Mottoo ; *Gulrez* by Maqbool Shah Kraalawaa'ry ; *Kraalakoor* by Peer Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din; *Guli Bakaawali* by Lassa Khan; *Qissa-i-Swandar Paree*, *Jauhari Ishq*, *Mumtaaz-o-Benazeer* and *Rauzat-ush-Shuhuda* by Azizullah Haqqani ; and *Yusuf Zulaikha*, *Laila wa Majnoon*, *Shirin-o-Khusrau*, *Harun-ur-Rashid*, *Shekh San'an* by Mahmood Gaami. And many more, too many to mention here. Mention may be made, however, of (1) Lachman Bhat's *Nala Damayanti* (2) of *Akanandun* by various authors (e. g. Saif-ud-Din. Waliullah Mottoo, and in our times, by Samad Meer) and in various styles, treating of a local version of a similar theme as that of Abraham-and-Isaac story which has somehow caught the imagination of the people here ; (3) Krishna Razdan's *Siva Parinaya* ; and (4) of Abdul Wahab Parey, who was a voluminous writer and who, besides 700 and odd ghazals wrote *Qissa-i-chahaar Darwesh*, *Qissa-i-Bahram Gor*, *Sahlaabnaama*, *Haft qissa-i-makar-i-zan*, and lastly, a translation of *Shaanaama*, to mention only one of the many translations of his from Persian into Kashmiri. In the *masnawi* couplet form have also been written *Hamd*, *Naatishareef*. and *Mojizaati Hazrat*

Rasool-i-Akram (on whom be peace !). Also in this form have been written several elegies on the martyrdom of Hazrat Hussain (of blessed memory !) ; and some comic-satires like Maqbool Shah's *Greestnaama*, and *Peernamaa*, and Khalil Shah's *malanaama*. And often, interspersed among these *masnavi* narratives, we find ghazals and songs and, what equally distinguishes them from the Persian *masnavis*, also change in metres as, for instance, in Mahmood Gaami's *Yusuf Zulaikha* and in Maqbul Shah's *Gulrez*.

Gulrez has deservedly become popular ; and it is one of the few *masnavis* that will live; for most other *masnavis*, if they have any life at all, will live as curiosities of literature and only in fragments as anthology pieces. *Gulrez*, however, has more or less equal merit throughout, and it gives us a passionate portrayal of love, the effect of which is, at places, heightened by the descriptions of the scenes of nature. It is a borrowed theme from Persia about Ajab Malik and Noshlab ; but I have failed to find if there is any poem on this story in Persian. It appears that the story came to Kashmir by oral communication. *Gulrez* seems therefore to be an original work and not a translation, nor adopted from or based upon a Persian model. Here are specimens of our *masnavi* style at its best :

(a) This one is from Prakash Ram's *Sri Ramaavtar Charit* :

he'chhith boozith wuchhith laagun pozyaa o'n
pha'lis chhuy hyo'l he'lis chhuy saa'mpu'naan go'n
panun dam chhuy ga'neemath boz yih ru'ts kath
chhuh broont'yum bront'h rozaan chhuy pa'tyum path
zu'h do'h sontu'ny gaa neemath chhiy jawaano
wawakh yiy tiy tsu'h lonakh yaari-jaano......
kadu'r ye'my zon paanas nishi yiman dwan
suh yo'dway aasi sha'stur saa'mpu'nyas swan.

And (b) this one from Mabool Shah's *Greest-naama* :

sazowul yo'd yiyakh tas bront'ha neyran
dinas dag mwa'th ta pyat'hakani jaay sheyran

ga'ndith guly rozu'nas phwarmaan bardaar
pathar vas guri, saathaah be'h, ma saa'maar
tse' chhuy naa koor go'bruy son aa'yut
vuchhaan aa'sy raath a'sy Bhat'h vaati maa yo't...
yiyakh ye'li doori peer d'eyshinas yaam
nyabar aa'sith atsan gaanas andar taam
shuryan baa'tsu'n dapan to'hy vaara vuchhtav
be'shoonkuy wuchhzi a'ty chhaa kina syo'duy gav
go'mut vay tshaand'aney bab dyad ga'muts wan
baban subahan dapyaanas zinyge'd'aah an.

Now, let us compare these with Mahmood Gaami's *Yusuf Zulaikha* :

hamd beyhad naat-i Ahmad har saheefas ibtidaa
roz damaah soz a'shykun boz ay mardey khudaa
paadshaahaah kajkulaahaah os shaharey magribas
aa's kooraah khaasa ta'mysu'y Beep Zulaikhaa naav tas
say Zulaikhaa aa's zeybaa dilphireybaa zoon zan
seena saaph aa'yeenakhwata os tas roshan badan
naar-i pistaan raahatey jaan aa'sy tas rwapa su'ndy qabah
d'e'yshivu'nvan kreyshivu'nyan aa'sy pheraan dil dubah
tath mulookas tahanz hish soorath be'yey na kaa'nsi aa's
satu'va'ryshee tshyata gaa'mu'ts na ta kamee vaa'nsi aa's
khwaab d'yoot'hun akh jawaanah nundabonaah khoob roy
os ra'naa maah jabeenaah naazneenaah mushk moy.

This last is no language, not because here are too many Persian words but because the diction is listless and stilled, artificial and imitative, not racy of the soil, and foreign words are unassimilated to the genuis of our language. I know some of us boost it up as *rekhta* but I do not regard this as a purely literary judgment. This is, however, not to belittle what we owe to Mahmood Gaami. We are indebted to him for the first ghazal in our language, technically so called, also perhaps, for the first *masnavi*, and, but for Haba Khatoon's

> "wwalo myaani poshey madano..."
>
> Or "tsu' kamyoo swani myaani bram dith nyoonakho..."
>
> Or "kaa'nsi maa raa'vin shoorey paan..."

and perhaps a few more such songs attributed by long tradition to her, we owe him also the first love songs which, for want of a better word, I may call *Kaa'shur ghazal* or, perhaps better *Kaa'shur geet*. The metres and and rhyme-pattern of these *geets* are various, and each unit is a stanza of three lines followed by the refrain. These *geets* were soon popular as *chhakri* songs, and continue to be so till the present day. I believe Rasool Mir is our best song writer in this form. Now man loves woman, and he is lavish, almost uninhibited in describing her charms. His ghazals have a unity of impression which was not usually to be found in the ghazals written previously. And, he may be said to have succeeded more than most of his predecessors and contemporaries in acclimatising Persian words and phrases into Kashmiri. There is, besides, a note of passion and there is spontaneity in his songs.

Taken as a whole, however, songs, and ghazals and geet, as written by the poets of this long period, are more sophisticated, and even imitative and artificial. The song has lost some of its former melody, directness, and a tender poignancy of feeling ; though it has gained in richness of allusion from Persian love lore and also in sensuousness and ornateness.

In this very form poets now wrote their mystical songs also but much of what they wrote is unequal in merit, at its best didactic and homiletic, and at its average, sentimental, platitudinous, morbidly gloomy and even obscure. There are exceptions however, in a few poems of Na'ma Saa'b, Swachh Kraal, Wahab Khaar, Shams Faqir, Ahmad Bat'awaa'ry and, later, in our times, of Samad Meer.

Then there is the leela-lyric which, at its best, has the rare quality (rare in Kashmiri poetry) of abandon, even ecstasy, as in Paramanand :

> ye'li teyley a'ndrimi loluk sre'h
> te'li meyley paanas hyuh looka sre'h
> Kheyli antar-baahar buka buka sre'h
> chhuna parvaay geyli alam ta lo lo.

> Once awakened, love cannot be confined within,
> but must ooze out and fret to find itself
> without, its correspondence in the love of man
> and nature, which it shall everywhere find.
> Then love within shall flow without,
> and gushing and gurgling in a whirligig of joy,
> the bubbling founts of love shall dance and play.
> Exalted thus and united with the love of all,
> what cares thy devotee how the world regards
> him or what it says ? He is indifferent
> to all its praise and blame.

Or (b) Krishna Razdan's :

> Nandalal aaw gindaney raas
>   aara ka'ry-ve aaray...
> Nandlal is come to dance,
>   Make a ring, make a ring.
>
> The wild rose is aflame with love,
> It has taken to the woods,
> It has wandered by the brooks.
> Make a ring, make a ring.
>
> In the mansion of the body,
> See, a dance is going on,
> with all its nine windows open.
> Make a ring, make a ring...

We may trace the origin of leela-lyric from the songs in Prakash Ram's *Sri Ramavtåar Charith.* Or, We may go even further back to Khwaja Habib Ullah Nowshehri's poem :

yaara gatshavo divayey
aashkaaraa draavayey
chhus Muhammad naawayey
"kuntu kanzan" aavayey
jalva maaraan draavayey
"nahanu aqrah" baavayey
yaara gatshavo divayey..."

The *leela*-lyric is primarily a devotional poem, saturated with mysticism. The universe exists : It is real and it is good. Indeed all manifestation is an everflowing of God's joy, a *lila*, a Nataraja's dance. These poems, rightly so called, do not lay stress on asceticism and aloofness from the world. They stress inwardness of experience rather than outward formalism.

Parmanand wrote three long poems ; *Sudaamcharith*, *Radha-aswayamvar* and *Sivala'gu'n*, in this very form, that is, in stanzas or units of three lines followed by a refrain, the first two lines rhyming together and the third rhyming with the refrain. By any standard, Paramanand would be a significant poet in any language. Each of his three narrative poems has the unity of a great mystical idea, the love of God for man and of man for God. The unobtrusive allegory, most unobtrusing in *Sudaamcharith*, controls the various incidents and gives them a structural unity. I have no time here to dwell on this but must give a specimen of his narrative art :

bwadabror dwadatsoor draav khokhajey
goorybaayi tswapaa'ry laarani lajey
me'ti me'ti me'ti kyaah chhu baana phut'aranay...
Yashudaayi do'p yi chhum du'shiraavanay
lookabaayan nishi mandu'chaavanay
yad'a'ba'd'ysu'y cham na yad'yivanay...
dwad chyath tsalaney lajaav Yashudaayey
laaraan tas pata thaaraan draayey
athi hyath gudom a'thy zi gand'anay...
moorathgar yas na moorath gand'ey

tas mani yas chhana doorath gand'ey
gyaan dyaan gand'anas chhina poshanay...
tas balaveeras pata pata doraan
tshala tshala tsalanay bala aayi soraan
hataba'dy atagath manz aangany...
maa'j ye'li tha'ch aar aw santaanas
yuth bha'khtyan hund yiwaan Bhagawaanas
rat'anas paa'ny paana dith rood tanay...

He has what Jalal-ud-Din Rumi calls "the inspired speech", the quality of ecstasy of those who "break through to the oneness". It is a stray single word here and there that invests a whole passage with a mystical meaning without interfering with the flow of the narrative. He uses the native colloquial idiom with verse and effect and there is a terse pointedness and proverbial ring about numerous of his verses e. g.,

yas din tas yin toray naadas

Or, chhaav yith chika chaav baanas neyraana

Or, sheeshas ta sooras meyl chhaa
teel neyri kanimanza teyl chhaa

I may here venture to utter a note of warning against the recent tendency (following Sir George Grierson) of labelling Parmanand's and other leela poets' poetry as written in "Hindu Kashmiri" as against "Muslim Kashmiri" of our *masnavis*, notably of Mahmood Gaami. It is regrettable that Master Zinda Kaul should also have accepted this division of our language in his introduction to *Paramanand* Vol I. It would not be proper here to enter into a discussion of the falsity of this nomenclature, but I should like emphatically to say that to label this poetry as such and therefore to dismiss it as something irrelevant, not belonging as it were, would be doing violence with our literature and impoverishing it.

I may here also say a word about our comic-satiric ballads distinguished for homely but effective metaphor and picturesque portrayal of the ridiculous situations in which we sometimes found ourselves when facing either the natural calamities like floods and earthquakes or the tyranny of the petty bureaucrat of the day ; or when we tried to adjust ourselves to the new conditions like the Revenue settlement of Sir Walter Lawrence. Though this comic-satiric verse is only minor poetry yet it is a pity that much of (it which we call *la'd'i shaah)* is lost and only stray stanzas are extant. There were however a few sustained efforts like Mulla Habib Ullah Hakeem's *Sahlaabnaama*, Nazim of Vejibror's parody on Mahmood Gaami's well-known poem beginning *rinda kitha zinda chhuk aabas suu'ty* and, in our times, a few amusing poems by Lakhman Razdan, known by his pen-name of Laala-la'khyman, particularly the one beginning

> "Laala La'khyman shakhdaarey draav".

V

We now come to the fourth period, from 1925 to 1947. This is the age of Mahjoor to whom we owe a deep debt for keeping alive Kashmiri poetry at a difficult time when Urdu and English, introduced in the last decades of the 19th century, had ousted Persian from offices and schools and when literary creativity was at a very low ebb. He belongs to the school of Rasool Meer and shares with him the popularity of being the best writer of our Kashmiri *geet* and ghazal. He recovered much of the melody native to our language, retrieved the language itself from the false *rekhta* of our masnavis of the last century, and introduced many new themes such as *My Youth* and *The Country Lass*, and some patriotic songs, notably the famous one beginning

> wo'lo haa baagwaano naw bahaaruk shaan paidaa kar
> "Come Gardener, let us create the glory of a new spring".

His younger contemporary, Abdul Ahad Azad, gave us *Shikwa-i-Iblees*, which was a new thing. It was, firstly, a *nazm*, that is, a poem longer than the usual ghazal and with a unity of theme; and secondly, the theme itself was a revolutionary one. It was a complaint of Satan questioning God's wisdom in creating the world. Ghulam Hassan Beg Arif also took up new themes, social and patriotic, and wrote *nazms* and, what is his particular contribution, the rubaiyat, most of which have the surprise of a turn or twist in meaning in the third or the fourth line. For example :

pagaah boozum sazaah dikh soodhaaras
sitamgar haa'kimas sarmaayidaaras
azyuk do'h gav ga'reebas kyut kayaamath
'adu'l pagahuk karyas kyaah swachh bichaaras

Tomorrow, I have heard it said, that Thou
wouldst punish the usurer, the tyrant bureaucrat,
and the capitalist.
What of today, which grinds the poor as if it
were the judgment day ?
What good to him Thy justice of another day ?

The modern note, in a profounder sense, was, however, sounded by Master Zinda Kaul. Though it is largely mystical, what distinguishes the poetry of Masterji from the long line of Kashmiri mystical poetry is its note of searching doubt and interrogation ; and what distinguishes it from the large body of modern verse is the depth of its mystical meaning. Quite a few of the small number of his poems, like *Vadihey Manush*, *Naatayaa'ree*, *Joogy*, will have a secure place in our literature. Even other poems have the quality of vision like *Lolas Kun* (To Love), *Sumran* (The Token of Love) or *Vanan Manz Laal*, where the lover has a priceless vision of

a mystic afflatus passing from heart to heart,
where fleshly eyes of man intervene not
between true lovers...The love-sick heart hath heard
of God, but here it sees none other than Man,
in very truth, the Formless Incarnate. Here

it sees the self-same sap coursing through all,
and the meanest thorn yearning to be free,
to feel the largeness of the whole, and to
become the Garden itself, Here it realized
how priceless is the heart of man, and lo !
God is love's luminous flame within
the heart; for God chose His abode in love
when man was made, and love his dewelling found
where grief was great, in the heart of sorrowing man.

VI

Then came the Raid, and something remarkable happened. Overnight, as it were, new poets burst upon the scene with themes, understandably relevant to our life-and-death struggle, but with a rare rhetorical eloquence. Inevitably, much of what was written was, so to say, 'occasional' which could be dated ; but some of the stirring songs are unforgettable like Dinanath Nadim's "I will not sing today. I will not sing today of Rose and Nightingale……"or "Beware, O War-monger !" and a fine poem on the death of a comrade[4]

Comrade !
My comrade-in-arms !
Why does not our song sound in your ears ?
Tired ? Why lie you down when the journey's not done ?
Wherefore should you slumber when our work is just begun ?
Watered with your blood, won't you see the garden bloom ?
Won't you wait for a new time's dawn that'll be soon ?
Is it right for the architect of future to assume
Death, my comrade—
My comrade-in-arms ?
Don't I hear what you would say ?
Don't I know to what you were a prey ?
Chill blasts of poverty made you fade before your noon ;

For medicine means money—and your sun set soon ;
But even in the claws of death you remembered
the plighted troth ;
To the flame of new resolves you played the happy moth ;
You cannot die, for you are the beacon on our path
Forever, my comrade,—

My comrade-in-arms !
You are no more,—but what of that ?
Can fire forever slumber ?

You are no more, but your fiery emanation can never die !
It'll flower into a myriad sparks, and grow, but never die !
Dead coals, infected, will glow, and grow, but never die !
Coals glow into a blazing fire, and grow, but never die !
My lyre has caught this tune, my song this stirring theme
From you, my comrade,—
My comrade-in-arms.

Nadim and, later, Rahman Rahi and some others have been taking up new themes and experimenting with new forms : free verse, different rhyme-schemes and stanza forms ; and at their best, have enriched our poetry with new imagery. Nadim has not only written an excellent opera, *Heemal ta Naa'gyraay*, rich in symbolism, but also very successful octave-and-sestet sonnets. Just how modernist these poets can be is shown by Nadim's sonnet* beginning

doha aki koha pa'ty zoon kha'ts tso't hish..."

The moon looked like a bun[5] as she rose behind the
mountain.

She looked clouded and dull as a Pampore puttoo
garment.[6]

worn of threadbare and torn at the collar-band,
exposing,

---

*Note: In the original Kashmiri this is a sonnet with *abba abba cdecde* rhyme-scheme.

one after another, the spots and scars on a silvery
breast.
Tired and pale she looked,
pale as a spurious silver rupee coin
palmed off upon a woman coolie
with the small change of her weekly wage.
The moon looked like a bun, and the hills looked
hungry.
The clouds put out the fire of the cooking-range[7]
[blazing in the western skies].
when [in the east] it looked as if the wood-nymphs lit
a moving cooking-stove[8]
in whose soft glow white shoots of steamed rice seemed
to spring upon the hills.
Then I too whispered hope to my hungry belly ;
then I too looked and looked, with a hungry look, at
the moonlit sky.

Broadly speaking, Kashmiri poetry has stepped into adolescence and there are signs that it will soon come of age.

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

a sounds as *u* in *cup* ; *aa* as *a* in *farm*.
a' sounds somewhat like *oe*, as in *a'chh* (an eye), *la'r* (a house) ;
aa', the long sound of *a'*, as in *aa's* (a mouth), *laa'r* (a cocumber).
i sounds as *i* in hill ; *ee* as in *heel*.
u' sounds somewhat like *ui*, as in *tu'r* (a rag) ;
uu', the long sound, as in *tuu'r* (cold).
u sounds as *u* in *pull* ; *oo* as in *pool*.
e' is a shorter sound of *e* or *ey*, as in *tre'* (three) ;
e or *ey*, the longer sound, sounds as *a* in *hate* or *ay* in *say*, as in *treysh* or *tresh* (thirst).
o' is a shorter sound of *o*, somewhat like *o* in *hot*, as in *ho'l* (crooked) ;

o	or *oa*, the longer sound, sounds, as *o* in *hole*, as in Kashmiri *hol* or *hoal* (despair).
ya	sounds as *e* in *tell*, as in Kashmiri *tyal* (giving airs).
wa	as in *dwad* (milk).
-y	as in *kuly* (trees), *khaa'sy* (cups); *y* at the end of a syllable preceded by a consonant has the sound of a short *i*.
g	is always hard as in *gig* ; *j* as in *jest*.
ch	is always soft as in *church* ; chh is its aspirated form.
t'	as *t* in *tin*, *t'h* as *th* in *thug*, and *d'* as *d* in *dish* (lingual sounds) ,
t	as in French, *th* as in *thing*, and *d* somewhat as *th* in *this* (dental sound).
ts	as in Kashmiri *tsoor* (a thief) ; *tsh* is its aspirated form, as in *tshat'h* (a draught of air).

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. 15th October : Lecture on "Time in English Literature", published in the *J & K University Review.*
2. *Memoirs* : Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, No. 2.
3. Translation of verse 4 is by Sir Richard Temple.
4. Translated by Shri T.N. Raina of National Defence Academy, Kharakwasla, published in *the Visvabharati Quarterly.*
5. *tso't* in Kashmiri is larger but thinner than a bun.
6. a vest or a loose garment (called phyaran in Kashmiri) of a dull grey homespun tweed made in Pampore, a village 8 miles south-east of Srinagar.
7. *ga'j* in Kashmiri is a cooking-range in which fuel is burnt. The fuel is placed in the open mouth of it ; and the flames blaze forth from the mouth as well as the orifices on which pots are placed.
8. *wwathadɔan* is a portable cooking-stove much smaller than a *ga'j.*

CHAPTER 12

KASHMIRI DRAMA

Mohanlal Aima

The history of Kashmiri drama falls into three periods. The first, which lasted up to the 15th century when Yusuf Shah Chak ruled over Kashmir, takes us back to the times of Buddhist and Hindu kings who patronised musicians and actors. The second period covers the four hundred years of Mughal rule, and that of the Afghans and Sikhs. From 1938, it entered upon its third period which ushered in modern Kashmiri drama.

The Kashmiri Hindu has always been a staunch follower of Shaivism. He loves music, dance, and drama, and these have had a religious sanction behind them from the earliest times. We have ample historical evidence to show that in the early days it was essential to have morning and evening sessions of music and dance in all temples. About 2000 years ago Maharaja Jalauka offered from among his 1,002 court dancers as many as 100 to the god of the temple at Jyether near Gupkar. Every house, as a matter of fact, patronised these arts and boys and girls were often taught by their mothers who were themselves talented artists. In the 10th century, Maharaja Chakravarman married a professional low-caste dancer named Hansi. But her art was considered so sacred and ennobling that she and even her relations were allowed to enter the temples. Her children were given rights equal to those of the Brahmins. There is also definite evidence to prove that, in the days of Kshemendra, Kashmir had a theatre of its own. The popularity of dance, drama, and music at the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, one of the most popular Kashmiri kings, has been mentioned in detail by two important contemporary historians, Jonaraja and Shrivar. While describing the yearly spring festival held at Bijbehara, they wrote: "A magnificent stage was erected for the royal court where the famous dancers Tara and Ansu also performed to the great applause of the King and the people." Shrivar in his descriptions has repeatedly used the words "actor". And both the historians have dwelt at length on the 49 modes of dancing so skilfully brought out by the artists during these performances. Thus, drama was built up with music and dance, and the story either revolved round a mythological theme or touched upon some topical subject. Other essentials, such as the make-up, costume, and stage-setting, were not ignored. Colourful curtains were hung with bold pictures befitting the sequence painted on them ; the stage had elaborate settings, and gorgeous costumes were worn by the actors who were appropriately made up. Music, mostly following the principles laid down in *Sangita-Chudamani* was also pressed into service to heighten the effect and evoke the emotions that the drama required. Probably the earliest language used was Prakrit which later changed with time. No definite evidence is to show that Kashmiri was used as a medium.

About the 14th century, which marks the beginning of the second period, dance, drama, and music seem to have received a definite setback in the rest of India, but they did not disappear completely in Kashmir. They trickled down to the people. Kashmiri drama was banished from the royal court, but back in the villages the class of artists known as the *Bhands* are still known for their *jashn*, which is even now the most popular form of dance, drama, and music in Kashmir. These *Bhands* form a class by themselves and are mostly found at Kulgam, Wahthore Akingom, Bumzu and Aishmuqam. Essentially agriculturists, these artists give variety shows to the entire village and their performances may extend from dusk to dawn. It is probably from these that the word *pather* has become naturalised in Kashmiri and describes somewhat artificially and incompletely the drama as we understand it today. One of the most popular elements in the drama enacted by the *Bhands* is the *darza pather* which is saturated with satire and mimicry But one has to make allowances for its mediocre standard. The sessions start with a musical prelude on the *shahnai*, *naqara* and *dhol* which introduces a galaxy of dancers, followed by two humorous characters who act as narrators to the end. The items covered in these shows are mostly based on topics which closely touch the villagers and vividly express life in a Kashmiri village. Sir Walter Lawrence while conducting settlement work in the Valley found that some of the plays enacted by the *Bhands* clearly depicted aggression of the ruling classes, over the masses, more particularly the agriculturists. But this theatre could not thrive without substantial financial aid, which was difficult to come by in those days. Naturally, indiscipline crept in which lowered the players in the eyes of society. The actor came to be known as *Rass Kath*, an expression which expressed nothing but contempt for stage artists.

Later, a few professional theatres were started and plays like *Krishna-Sudama*, *Vir Abhimanyu*, and Agha Hashr Kashmiri's plays like *Ba Wafa Qatil*, *Khoon ka Khoon* were staged. It was in this period that one of the earliest attempts was made to stage Kashmiri plays like *Raja Harishchandra*. Unfortunately, they had to introduce certain foreign features in their haphazard technique. Attempts were made to run a theatre on a co-operative basis but without success. The Veteran artists did, however, succeed in erecting a stage and a hall at Dewan Bagh, now known as Karan Nagar, but, unfortunately, their zeal did not last.

Thus, there followed a vacuum and the only drama to be found was the short humorous skit performed by scattered groups of artists who entertained marriage parties. The Sanatan Dharam Sabha, however, maintained its tradition of enacting Ramlila during the Dussera.

It was only after 1938 that serious attempts were made once more to revive Kashmiri drama. A start was made by the S.P. College Amateur Dramatic Club which withstood the great opposition that still existed against the theatre. Within a couple of years the Club successfully staged a number of plays and by that time other organisations came into existence, the most noteworthy among them being the Vasanta Girls School which went a step further and successfully staged features in Kashmiri verse. The Rashtriya Kala Mandir started its career with a full length play in Kashmiri namely *Widwah* (the widow) which was immensely popular. The Kashmiri Sudhar Samiti also started a theatre of its own and has had it ever since the stage has proved to be a potent means of social uplift. It is indeed gratifying that the Samiti is now able to own a hall of its own and to continue its theatrical activities. The already existing Sanatan Dharam Sabha too organised the Sanatan Dharam Kala Mandir and has so far staged plays on a comparatively large scale. Now the Government has also started encouraging and subsidising the stage. Actually, the Amar Singh College has already built a stage of its own on more or less modern lines.

The old veterans of Kashmiri drama found this revival so spontaneous that they did not hesitate to guide and held the youngsters. The late Pandit Rughnath, popularly known as Rugha, who broke one of his legs in the course of erecting an open-air stage and later succumbed to the fracture was available, as long as he lived, for assistanae and advice. This enabled the young artists to learn the old technique of stagecraft and harmonise it with modern trends.

The historic day, October 26, 1947, mobilised the entire talent of Kashmir. All the leading musicians, dancers, actors, painters, and writers founded the Kashmir National Cultural Front under the inspiring guidance of Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq. The artists kept up the morale of the Kashmiris and inspired them to rise and hit back the raider who had reached the outskirts of Srinagar. The patriotic songs sung by the musicians in the streets and lanes, and the huge painting drawn by painters depicting the atrocities of the raiders, strengthened the determination of the Kashmiris to fight the raiders. Thus, the Kashmir National Cultural Front was able to knit itself into a powerful organisation and to do marvellous work. A permanent stage was erected within a few weeks and the artists dedicated themselves to its cause. Some of their plays like *Kashmir Yeh Hai*, *Shaheed Sherwani* and *Swali* were missed by hardly any Kashmiri. Even the jawans found time to attend these shows before marching to the front. The technique of these performances demonstrated a blend of the old and the modern stage. The present-day influences of the Western Theatre, the lighting, three dimensional sets and the playback effects were also used to some extent. The Kashmir National Cultural Front soon formed an important wing of the Kashmiri Militia of that time and the Kashmiri artist in his enthusiasm did not hesitate to enlist as a sepoy and work in the cultural organisation with the soldier's pay. Soon after, Government aid was provided which enabled the artists to carry their plays to the remotest corners of the Valley and set up small cultural units there. In this heroic strife we lost a promising artist, Shamlal Baqaya, who died of tuberculosis.

Among those who are responsible for inspiring the Kashmiri artist, mention must be made of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad who reorganised the Kashmiri National Cultural Front into a bigger organisation covering its cultural activities all over the State. Probably, for the first time in the history of Kashmir, an all State cultural convention was held under his presidentship. He is also responsible for the success in giving dignity to this type of labour. It has been realised that the tempo of progress and reconstruction of a country can best be gauged by its cultural movements. At present Kashmir can easily boast of a well-organised network of cultural centres in the whole State, with each unit showing marvellous progress. Among the most important of Kashmir's drama units at present, the Government College for Women at Srinagar is doing solid work. One of its latest features, *Bampur Yamberzal* (the Narcissus and the Bumblebee), is an attempt to stage an opera of the Western type. It has stolen a march on the others and discovered for us talented artists like Zia Durrani.

CHAPTER 13

TWO MYSTICS*

The geographical position of Kashmir indicates, in the best sense of the term, the head—nay, the brain of India. This small country has been prolific in producing not only great kings whose sway extended over parts of India and Central Asia, great philosophers, grammarians, historians, astronomers and poets, who shone like luminaries in the firmament, but also women of extraordinary talent and rare gifts. Yasovati, Sugandah, Didda and Kuta adorned the throne of the country and held it secure with great wisdom, playing their game successfully against powerful enemies. Laleshwari, Rupabhawani and Jaman Ded were ascetics of a sublime and exalted kind, surrounded by a halo of divinity.

Kashmir has also been a place where a synthesis of various Asiatic cultures has been forged, the waves of these coming from different directions and meeting in this happy Valley. First the early Aryans from India, and later on the Kushans, the Indo-Scythians, the Mongols and the Mohamedanised Turks from Central Asia and China, found here a congenial soil and set about creating settlements. It is, therefore, not strange that Kashmir through a long and chequered history has made unique contributions to the art and literature of the Eastern world.

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*From Keys to Kashmir,

In the Middle Ages of Europe, when the twelfth century began, a wave of Hindu mysticism swept India. It found its peak in the devotional poems of Surdas and Mira ; and in Kashmir this great philosophical upsurge, the Saivism, produced its popular exponent in Lalla Yogishwari. The Kashmiri language which had come to be developed some centuries earlier, was the vehicle through which these religious and social philosophies reached the masses. The Sanskrit language, known as the "language of the Gods", was studied and spoken by only a small number of Pandits. Simultaneously, a parallel development of Islamic mysticism was taking place in the widely-separated countries of Mesopotamia and Iran. Islam in the middle of the eighth century A.D., had become ossified into set dogmas and rituals, and the need was felt among its followers for a "heart", rather than a "head", religion. The urge found a ready source of inspiration in the lives and sayings of Hindu and Buddhist saints in Central Asia and China. As a result, the Sufis, a new sect of Islamic philosophers in whose sayings and doings Hindu and Buddhist influence can be traced, arose.

The Sufis found a fertile ground in Iran. Thence their philosophy found its way into the Valley of Kashmir and it is fortunate that the wave of Islamic mysticism reached Kashmir at a time when popular Hindu mysticism was being preached assiduously by Lalla Yogishwari and others. Great Sufis like Bulbul Shah and Shah Hamadan gained a ready response from the Kashmiri mystic, whose sayings reveal the deep influence of Sufi philosophy and learning. Long and frequent were the meetings in which the teachers of both sects discussed subtle points and their co-mingling supplies a living picture of religious tolerance among the Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims of the country.

Laleshwari or Lal Ded

Laleshwari, more popularly called by the homely name of Lal Ded (Mother Lal), was one of those noble figures who came into the world at periodic intervals to deliver the message of truth and peace, and to exhort humanity to follow the higher ideals and shun the frivolities of mortal existence. She was a follower of Shaivism, the principles and rituals of which she preached simply in the language of the people. She was born towards the middle of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, at the time Sultan Alau-ud-Din became the third Muslim king of Kashmir. Her parents lived at Pandranthan (the ancient Puranadisthan) four miles south-east of Srinagar.

Many legends about her birth survive and according to the custom of the times she received the elements of her education from the family priest, Sidh Sri Kanth. It was this cleric who noted the child's precocious nature and her love for religious knowledge. He intimated her into the mysteries of Saiva Yoga.

Laleshwari, however, married early in life. Her husband lived at Pampore (the ancient Padmapore) for, being given to secular activities, he could not reconcile himself easily to the religious leaning of his young wife. A rift, doubtless hastened for the badgerings of her mother-in-law, developed between husband and wife, and Lal Ded bore the ill-treatment of the older woman patiently. Today young wives in Kashmir are exhorted to follow her example and bear their ills with the same fortitude.

Under her preceptor, Sidh Sri Kanth, Lal Ded progressed in her spiritual attainments. She far surpassed him, as the following couplet relates :

Gav tsatha guras khasithay,
Tyuth var ditam Diva.
The disciple surpassed the Guru ;
O God, grant me a similar boon.

Eventually she gave up her secluded life and became a wandering preacher. She led a severely ascetic life, clad in the bareness of one who had forsaken comforts, and by example and precept conveyed her teachings. Like Mira she sang of Shiva, the great Beloved, and the thousands of her followers, Hindus as well as Muslims, committed to memory her famous *Vakyas.* These sayings touch the chords of the Kashmiri's heart as powerfully as they do his ear and they have become current coins of quotation being used even in daily conversation. Their wide use has led to their moulding the national mind and shaping national ideals.

Some of these maxims have been collected and published by Dr. Grierson, Dr. Barnett, Sir Richard Temple and Pandit Anand Koul and apart from consideration that they explained the Saiva philosophy of Kashmir through the Kashmiri dialect, they exemplify the synthesis of cultures for which Kashmir has always been famous.

In one of her sayings, Lal Ded criticises the cold and meaningless way in which religious ritual are performed :

> "God does not want meditations and austerities,
> Through love alone canst thou reach the abode of Bliss,
> Thou mayst be lost like salt in water,
> Still it is difficult for thee to know God."

Exhorting her followers to stick fast to ideals of love and service to humanity paying no thought to the praise or condemnation that might follow from their observance, she says :

> "Let them jeer or cheer me ;
> Let anybody say what he likes ;
> Let good persons worship me with flowers ;
> What can any one of them gain, I being pure ?
> If the world talks ill of me,
> My heart shall harbour no ill-will ;
> If I am a true worshipper of God,
> Can ashes leave a stain on a mirror ?"

That God is to be found everywhere and does not confine Himself to temples and mosques, is aptly put in another verse :

> "Idol is of stone, temple is of stone :

Above (temple) and below (idol) are one ;
Which of them wilt thou worship, O foolish Pandit,
Cause thou the union of mind with soul ?"

She further castigates the fanatical followers of so-called "religions" in the following words :

"O Mind, why hast thou become intoxicated at
another's expense ?
Why hast thou mistaken true for untrue ?
The little understanding hath made thee attached to
other's religion ;
Subdued to coming and going ; to birth and death".

The aspirant, she says again, should try to attain perfection in this life ;

Siva is with a fine net spread out,
He permeath the mortal coils.
If thou, whilst living canst not see Him, how canst thou
when dead,
Take out Self from Self, after pondering over it.

Giving her own experiences she says :

I saw and found I am in everything,
I saw God effulgent in everything.
After hearing and pausing, see Siva,
The House is His alone ; Who am I, Lalla.

Sheikh Nur-ud-Din or nund Rishi

A younger contemporary of Lal Ded was the Kashmiri mystic, Nund Rishi or Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, revered alike by the Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir.

Nund Rishi, or Sahazanand (Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, as he was afterwards named by Mir Mohammad of Hamadan), was born in 1377 A.D. at Kashmir, a village two miles to the west of Bijbihara. His ancestors belonged to a noble family of

Kishtwar and had emmigrated to the Valley. His father, Salar Sanz,was a pious man and came under the spiritual influence of a Sufi saint, Yasman Rishi, who arranged his marriage to Sadra Maji. The child of their union was Nund Rishi, the patron saint of Kashmir.

In his very childhood Nund Rishi gave proof of his saintly nature. He held himself aloof from the daily affairs of the family, and, though apprenticed in several trades showed no inclination for any of them. Finally he gave up the world and lived in a cave for 12 years practising penances which reduced him almost to a skeleton. His fame as a saint and the glory of his spiritual attainments travelled far and wide attracting to him a great number of followers. Though unable to read and write, he gave utterance to hundreds of beautiful sayings which furnish Kashmiri literature with gems having both a terrestial as well as celestial meaning. Concise and objective as their approach, they have become stamped in people's memories. They have been collected and preserved in two volumes called the *Rishi Nama* and *Nur Nama* ; but, because of the transliteration in the Persian alphabets, many of them are not easily deciphered.

Nund Rishi exhorted his followers to perform good actions. That, he said, was the secret of happiness in this world as well as in the life to come :

The dog is barking in the compound,
O Brothers ! give ear and listen to (what he says) ;
"As one sowed, so did he reap ;
Thou, Nund, sow, sow, sow".

Of the austere life, he says :

The cave seems to me to be a celestial castle ;
The quilt seems to me to be a silken garment ;
I play with the rate as if they were creatures of good
omen to me ;
One year seems to me to be one single hour.

He preached that all men should lead disciplined lives and none should fall a prey to worldly desires :

Desire is like the knotted wood of the forest,
It cannot be made into planks, beams or into cradles ;
He who cut and fell it,
Will burn it into ashes.

Religious schisms were raising their head in his time and Nund Rishi warns the Kashmiris against the snares of false prophets in the following terms :

I saw a priest blowing out fire (and)
Beating a drum to others ;
The priests have nice big turbans on their heads ;
They walk about daintily dressed ;
Dressed in priestly robes they indulge in mutton,
They run away with cooking plots under their arms.

Again :

Thy rosary is like a snake ;
Thou bendest it on seeing the disciples ;
Thou hast eaten six platefuls, one like another ;
If thou art a priest, then who are robbers.

Nund Rishi also left what might be called a note on the state of the world to come :

During this iron Age I found liars prospering ;
In the house of the pious I found grief born of poverty.

He constantly advised the seeking of good company and shunning the bad, contrasting the two in forceful terms. He showed that rogues will always wrong the good, attacking them with dishonest words, if one lacked in care and gave them such opportunities :

Spend thy days with the good
The *Shah Wuga* (one of the best kinds of rice) will get pounded.

Never go about with the wicked
Do not walk close to pots covered with
Soot (else thou shalt get soiled).

He also held that true devotion to God lay in leading a disciplined life.

It availed men nothing to carry out the rites and rituals of religion in a cold and mechanical manner.

If thou listeneth to truth, thou oughtest to subdue the
five (senses) ;
If thou lowereth only thy fleshy body, the fleshy body
will not save thee ;
If thou maketh union with Siva,
Then only, O Rishi Mali, will prayer avail thee.

Again :

Having washed thy face, thou hast called the believers
to prayer ;
How can I know, O Rishi, what thou feelest in thy
heart, or what thy bows are for ?
Thou hast lived a life without seeing (God) :
Tell me to whom didst thou offer prayer.

Of true worship he says :

Do not go to *Sheikh* and priest and Mulla ;
Do not feed the cattle on *arkhor* leaves :
Do not shut thyself up in mosques or forests :
Enter thine own body with breath controlled in communion with God.

Sheikh Nur-ud-Din acquired enormous influence over the people of Kashmir and, when he passed away at an advanced age, King Zain-ul-Abidin himself was the chief mourner at his funeral. His grave is at Tsrar village.

CHAPTER 14

LAL DED

Sir Richard Carnae Temple

Lallā, the Prophetess of Kashmir, is commonly known in her own country at the present day as Lal Ded, Lal Dīdī and Māī Lal Dīddī, all of which names mean Granny Lal. She is also known as Lālishrī or Lāl the Great. In Sanskrit Literature she is called Lallā Yogīshwarī, Lallā the Mistress of Yoga asceticism, or Laleshwarī, Mistress Lalā Lata, the Great. It is further said that Lal Dīdī is her name among Muhmmadans, and Lālīshrī among Hindus. However this may be, Lal Ded is her usual appellation everywhere. Lallā, Darling, is a common personal name of Kāshmīrī women, though legend has given it a very different and much coarser rendering in Lal Ded's case.

There are few countries in which so many wise saws and proverbial sayings are current as in Kashmir. Knowles, in his *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, has collected some 1600. None of these proverbs have greater repute than the *Lallā-vākyāni*, the Sayings or Word of Lallā. There is not a Kāshmīrī,—Hindu or Musalmān,—who has not some of them ready on the tip of his tongue, and who does not give reverence to her memory. In this way she and her work are of general importance.

Though much legend has clustered round the name of Lallā, little is really known about her. All that can be affirmed of her is that she certainly existed, and that she lived in the fourteenth century of the Christian era, being a contemporary of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī at the time of his visit to Kashmīr, 1379-80 to 1385-86 A.D. Her own Sayings tell us that she was in the habit of wandering about in a semi-nude or even nude state, dancing and singing in ecstatic frenzy, as did the Hebrew *nābīs* of old and the more modern Muhammadan Dervishes. She was, in fact, a predecessor of the Mediaeval Reformers of India,—Rāmānanda, Kabīr and the others—of the fifteenth and later centuries. Her Word is, therefore, of great importance in the history of Hinduism, as she is evidently the mouthpiece of the ideas of many thinkers of her day.

Her Sayings show Lallā to have been a *yoginī*, a female professor of the Yoga discipline attached to the Saiva Branch of the religion of the Hindus, but, like many Kāshmīrīs, she was no bigot, and to her all religions were at one in their essentials. This doctrine of the Muhammadan Sufīs she no doubt learnt in her association with Sayyid' Alī Hamadānī and perhaps other Muhammadan saints, though it had long before been familiar to the Hindu philosophic world.

Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, the Muhammadan Apostle of Kashmīr, was a famous Saint, who exercised a great influence in the conversion of the country to Islàm, a process commenced some 40 years earlier under the Kāshmīrī king, Sultan Shamsu' ddīn (1341-46). He arrived in 1379-80, and stayed almost to his death five or six years later, in the reign of Sultān Kutbu'-ddīn (1377-93). There is left in his honour the fine and well-known Musjid or Mosque of Shāh Hamadān in Srīnagar, commenced in Sultan Kutbu'ddīn's time and finished by Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī's *khalīfa* or successor, Mir Muhammad Hamadānī under Sultān Sikandar, Butstikan or Iconoclast (1393-1417).

Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, known also as Amīr Kabīr, Shāh Hamadān and 'Alī Sānī, was a leader of the great Nakshbandī Order of Sūfis, founded by his contemporary Khwaja

Muhammad Bahāu'ddīn Nakshband (1319-89) of Bukhāra or its neighbourhood. As an Order, the Nakshbandīs were mixed up with politics, and for some reason, probably as an opponent of Tīmūr, Sayyid 'Alī fled from Bukhāra, and it is said that with 700 disciples he entered Kashmīr in 1379-80, where he obtained a great influence over the ruler Sultan Kutbu'ddīn. He died in 1386 and was buried at Khuttilān in Persia.[1]

Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānīs full name was Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Shihābu'ddīn *bin* Mīr Sayyid Muhammad al-Husainī of Hamadān in Persia, and he is said, somewhat obscurely, to have founded the Order of Sūfīs afterwards known as the Nurbakhshis of the Hazāra District in the Punjāb.[2]

Lallā is also said to have been influenced by the great national patron saint of the Kāshmīrīs named Nūru'ddīn Shāh, Nūru'ddīn Walī or Shēkh Nūru'ddīn, of Tsrār Sharīf, about 15 miles from Srīnagar. Popularly he is held to have been an elder contemporary of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī. He is also known as Nund Rishi and Sahazānand to the Kāshmīrī Hindus, and there is an important shrine to him at Tsrār Sharīf, which is the object of Tsrār Thursday, a Kāshmīrī institution, when the people from Srīnagar go out there on Thursday afternoons so as to be present at the prayers and sermon there on Friday; and in October there is a *melā* or fair held in his honour. Nūru'ddīn is credited with two favourite *khalīfas* or lieutenants: Sayyid 'Alī Baghdādī, who is buried at Pakharpūr near Srīnagar, and Bābā Nasiru'ddīn, or simply Nasar, who like his chief is buried at Tsrār Sharīf. To the last a popular verse is attached that has its counterpart in Persian of the time of the Emperor Akbar and his Minister Bīr Bal of the sixteenth century. Bābā Nāsiru'ddīn would thus be too late to be personally connected with Shēkh Nūru'ddīn, whose death could not have taken place later than in a year at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Shēkh Nūru'ddīn's memory is still a great power in Kashmīr, and Knowles has recorded as many proverbs ascribed to him as he has of those connected with Lal Ded.[3]

It is possible, moreover, that in the popular mind stories of Nūru'ddīn the Kāshmīrī have been mixed up with those of another saint of time named Nūru'ddīn *bin* Lutfu'llah, but better known generally as Hāfiz Abru, from his book *Ta'rīkh Hāfiz Abru*, who was born in Herāt and educated in Hamadān. He was a friend of Tīmūr and of Tīmūr's son Shāh Rukh, and died in 1425 A.D.

However this may all be, one narrator of a tale concerning Nūru'ddīn and Lallā says that his date was 1377-93 A.D., which are impossible dates for the life of a Muhammadan Saint, and happen to be those of the reign of Sultān Kutbu'ddīn, the Kāshmīrī ruler to whom Sayyid 'Ali Hamadānī went for refuge. So it is possible that the title Nūru'ddīn in this story refers to the latter saint, especially as the same story is told of Lallā in reference both to Sayyid 'Ali Hamadāni and Nūru'ddīn.

There are many Muhammadan saints and holy men reverenced in Kashmīr, and besides those already mentioned there is yet another Nakshabandī saint of the time, Amīr Shamsu'ddīn 'Irākī, who is buried in the Zādi-Bal quarter of Srīnagar, leaving a great name behind him. Apparently stories concerning him have been mixed up with those of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadānī and Shēkh Nūru'ddīn. He was a Shī'a, whereas Sayyid 'Ali Hamadānī and Shēkh Nūru'ddīn were Sunnīs. In modern Kashmīr the followers of Nūru'ddin are looked on as pure Kāshmīrīs, whereas the Sayyids and their followers, the Pīrzādas, are looked on as of foreign origin. Like their Hindu compatriots, the Kāshmīrī Muhammadans are regarded generally as easy-going in reference to their religion, though there is considerable enmity between Shī'a and Sunnī, which has at times led to rioting.

The more or less uncertain accounts of these Muslim teachers[4] have been dwelt on to some extent because of their obvious importance to the story of Lallā, since Lallā's date can be approximately fixed by her association with them as at the end of the fourteenth century of the Christian era ; and because in all the circumstances there can be no difficulty in accepting the tradition of Lallā's connection with the Muhammadan holy men of mark in Kashmīr in her time and especially with Sayyid 'Ali Hamadānī,—although the modern professed Nakshbandīs of Kashmīr claim Khwāja Mu'inu'ddīn

Nakshbandī, the seventeenth century saintly son-in-law of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān, as their founder.

Assuming the above views to be correct, it is well to note some of the tenets of the Nakshbandī and Sufī saints with a view to ascertaining how far they are reflected in Lallā's teaching. The Nakshbandīs, who, as one of the most promiment Orders of the Sūfīs, were unorthodox Muhammadans, taught that a life could be purchased by the sacrifice of another life, and on occasion acted on this doctrine, which partly explains the legendary end of Lallā herself. They also, with other Orders, forbade the erection of buildings over their graves, of which idea there is much evidence in Indian Muhammadan graveyards. They were staunch protectors of the defenceless and poor against oppression ; an attitude which brought them into politics and persecution by Kings and Sultāns, as they strove to "give new life to the old idea that beside the secular king should stand a divinely-guided adviser, the keeper of his seal and his conscience, and the interpreter of the spirit, not merely of the letter, of the formal laws."

There were, too, among the Nakshabandīs exercises in the restraint of breathing, strongly reminiscent of the *yoga* exercises of the Hindu Saivas. But it has been suggested that in origin these exercises are older than Hinduism of Islām and that they are survivals of practices of primitive Aryans. But irrespective of such notions, the Nakshabandis and the Sūfīs generally taught the soul after death returns to the world in a new body. To avoid this they held it to be necessary to make profound meditation on the Deity so perpetual and continuous as to absorb the mind even when in a crowd : "Keep the attention fixed on the heart, the eyes closed, the mouth, the teeth set tight against each other, and hold the breath ; repeat the Creed, "There is no God but God,' with great force, but with the heart and not with the tongue." The result will be freedom from the world and its attractions. All that is effective because the heart comprises the whole of a man's existence within himself and is the compendium of mankind, great and small alike being but extensions of it. It is in humanity what the seed is which contains within itself the whole tree. In fine, the essence of the whole of "God's Book, the Korān," and of all His secrets is the heart of man, by which term the Sūfīs meant his mind.

The Sūfīs considered each human soul to be a divine emanation, which doctrine was a chief cause of their persecution by orthodox authorities. They represented themselves "as entirely devoted to the Truth, and as being incessantly occupied in the adoration of God—a union with Whom they desired with all the ardour of a divine love. God is diffused over all His creatures, and exists everywhere and in everything." They compared the emanations of His divine essence and spirit to the rays of the sun, which they considered to be darted forth and reabsorbed. It was for this reabsorption into the Divine Essence, to which their immortal parts belonged, that they continually aspired. The Sūfīs also held that the ordinary state or conditions of pious contemplation is "preserved in wakeful moments, when the soul and body are united and the senses of the latter are enfeebled by the superior power of the soul." There was, however,—they said,—another condition when the soul of man leaves the body and wanders about without regard to time and space,—the ancient animistic belief in the "wandering soul." And finally, for the present purpose, they taught complete submission to the spiritual Teacher.

Although Lallā was a Saiva Hindu and her turn of thought and feeling was distinctly that of her own religion, a perusal of the following pages will show that there is much in them of all this teaching of the Sūfīs, which is in fact almost Hindu Upanishadic idealism, and therefore on all fours with that which was taught to her, and which she so sedulously taught to others.

Numerous Hindu stories are current about Lallā in Kashmir, the general tendency of which is to make her and all the saints and holy personages connected with her, to be contemporaries and personal acquaintances of each other ; but none of these tales is deserving of literal credence. Among them the following may be quoted to show what is popularly believed about her. She is said to have been originally a married woman of a respectable family living at Pāndrēnthan near Srīnagar, and to have been cruelly treated by her mother-in-law, who nearly starved her. To gather the force of this story there must be borne in mind the Hindu family custom of the bride going to live in the bridegroom's house, as one of the lesser women, there, under the general control of the oldest married woman in it, usually the mother-in-law. Bullying by the mother-in-law is a common Hindu accusation accordingly, to which there is endless allusion in Hindu song, story and proverb. At any rate, Lallā's story is preserved in a Kāshmīrī proverb : "Whether they killed a big sheep or a small one, Lal had always a stone to her dinner". This is an allusion to the statement that when she dined in the presence of other people, her mother-in-law used to put a lumpy stone on her platter and thinly cover it with rice, so that it looked quite a big heap. And still it is believed that she never murmured.

Lallā used to wander about in rags and adopted a famous Kāshmīri Saiva saint, named Sed Bāyū, as her *guru* or spiritual preceptor. The result of his teaching was that she herself took on the status of a *yoginī* or mendicant devotee, and went about the country, singing and dancing in a half nude or even nude condition. When remonstrated with for such disregard for decency, she is said to have replied that they only were men who feared God, and that there were very few of such about. She is also said in several tales to have become a better scholar than her teacher, and to have often beaten him in retort and argument. Such stories are no doubt old folktales fastened on to her as a celebrity, for in a contest in riddles, Indian folktale fashion, recorded in the *Vākyāni* to have taken place between her and Sed Bāyū, the dialogue shows that it is only a *rechauffee* of a Panjābi, or perhaps North Indian, story fastened on Lallā. Sed Bāyū appears to be a name for Sed (or Siddh) Shrī Kanth of the Nambalbal Mahalla (Quarter) of Pāmpūr, believed to have been descended in the direct line of pupils from Vasugupta, the founder of modern Saivism in Kashmīr, and to have still "a living descendant in the line of pupils" in the person of Pandit Mokand Rāzdān at Srīnagar.

The legend of Lallā's end, as it is usually told, is that while she was still a naked devotee, Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī arrived in Kashmīr, and one day she saw him in the distance. Crying out, "I have seen a man," she turned and fled. Seeing a baker's shop close by, she leaped into the blazing oven and disappeard, being apparently consumed to ashes. The saint followed her and enquired if any woman had come that way, but the baker's wife, out of fear, denied that she had seen any one. Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī continued his search, and suddenly Lallā appeared from the oven clad in the good garments of Paradise. The inference is that she never died and is still one of the "living saints" of Indian hagiolatry.

Another version of this tale is that it was Shēkh Nūru'ddin who was the hero of the story of Lallā's disappearance. In this case the story goes on: Not to be outdone in miracles, he, too, disappeared on the spot, and after much searching she found him between two platters in the form of a diamond. Here at any rate there is an echo of common Indian folklore, where the hero is a Hindu Kshatriya, named Jagaddēva, and the unclothed lady a dancing girl.

There are yet other variants of the tale. In one of them it is said that Lal Ded went about nude because "the Kāshmīrīs were not 'men,'" and so she had no reason to be ashamed. But when she saw Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, she recognised "a man" and forthwith wore clothes. In another it is said that her meeting with Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī was at Khānpūr near Srīnagar while in her nude condition, and the ensuing conversation turned the saint into a fast companion. So on the whole in these accounts we are face to face with some old folktale fastened on to Lallā.

There seems, indeed, to be no doubt that this story is folktale applied to the famous holy-woman, for yet another version of her end is that she died at Bijbihāra "just outside the famous *masjid* (mosque) there, near its south-eastern corner. When she gave up her soul, it buoyed up like a flame of light in the air and then disappeared."

There are no authentic MSS. of Lallā's compositions. Collections made by private individuals have occasionally been put together, but none is complete, and no two agree in contents or text. While there is thus a complete dearth of ordinary MSS., there are, on the other hand, sources from which an approximately correct text can be secured.

But the want of MSS. need not dismay us, because "the ancient Indian system," to quote Sir George Grierson's own words, "by which literature is recorded not on paper but on the memory, and carried down from generation to generation of teachers and pupils, is still in complete survival in Kashmīr. Such fleshly tables of the heart are often more trustworthy than birch-bark or paper manuscripts. The reciters, even when learned Pandits, take every care to deliver the messages word for word as they have received them, whether they understand them or not. In such cases we not infrequently come across words of which the meaning given is purely traditional or is even lost." A typical instance of this has occurred in the experience of Sir George Grierson. In the autumn of 1896 Sir Aurel Stein took down in writing from the mouth of a professional story-teller a collection of folktales which he subsequently made over to Sir George for editing and translating. "In the course of dictation, the narrator, according to custom, conscientiously reproduced words of which he did not know the sense. They were 'old words, the signification of which had been lost, and which had been passed down to him through generations of *ustāds* or teachers. That they were no inventions of the moment, or corruptions of the speaker, is shown by the fact that not only were they recorded simultaneously by a well-known Kāshmīrī Pandit, who was equally ignorant of their meanings, and who accepted them without hesitation on the authority of the reciter," Stein got the man to repeat the passages in which the words occurred. They were repeated by him *verbatim, literatim, et punctatim*, as they had been recited by him to Sir Aurel Stein fifteen years before.

"The present collection of verses was recorded under very similar conditions. In the year 1914 Sir George Grierson asked his friend and former assistant, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Mukunda Rāma Shāstrī, to obtain for him a good copy of the *Lallāvākyāni*, as these verses, of Lallā's are commonly called by Pandits. After much search he was unable to find a satisfactory manuscript. But finally he came into touch with a very old Brāhman named Dharma-dāsa-Darvēsh, of the village of Gush, about thirty miles from Bāramūla and not far from the famous shrine of Shāradā. Just as the professional story-teller mentioned above recited folktales, so he made it his business for the benefit of the pioulsy disposed, to recite Lallā's songs as he had received them by family tradition (*kula-paramparā-chārakrama*). The Mahāmahopādhyāya (great preceptor, Doctor), recorded the text from his dictation and added a commentary, partly in Hindī and partly in Sanskrit, all of which he forwarded to Sir George Grierson. These materials formed the basis of the present edition. It cannot claim to be founded on a collection of various manuscripts, but it can at least be said that it is an accurate reproduction of one recension of the songs, as they are current at the present day. As in the case of Sir Aurel Stein's folktales, this contains words and passages which the reciter did not profess to understand. He had every inducement to make the verses intelligible and any conjectural emendation would at once have been accepted on his authority. But following the traditions of his calling, he had the honesty to refrain from this and said simply that this was what he had received, and that he did not know its meaning. Such a record is in some respects more valuable than any written manuscript."

Nevertheless, in producing the text Sir George Grierson collated some other MSS., including Sanskrit translations in the manner described in his edition of the *Lallā-vākyāni*. So that on the whole it can be said fairly that he did succeed in getting the actual text of what Lallā left behind her. The *Lallā-vākyāni* were composed in an old form of Kāshmīrī, which, as a distinct language, is much older than her time; but it is not probable that we have them in the exact form in which she uttered them. The fact that they had been transmitted by word of mouth prohibits such a supposition. As the language changed insensibly from generation to generation, so must the outward form of the verses have changed in recitation. But, nevertheless, respect for the authoress and the material form of the songs have preserved a great many archaic forms of expression. It is worth while pointing out here that the Vedic hymns were for centuries handed down by word of mouth and that Lallā's Sayings give a valuable example of the manner in which language must have changed from generation to generation before the text was finally established.

Passing on to the metres of Lallā's Sayings, it may be mentioned that there are two distinct metrical systems in Kashmīr : one for formal works, such as epic poems and the like, and in this, Persian metres, with many irregularities and licences, are employed; the other usual in songs, like Lallā's. In 1917 Sir Aurel Stein ascertained definitely that in Kāshmīrī songs the metre depended solely on the stress-accent. In Lallā's verses four stresses go to each *pāda* or line, as follows :

ābhyosi savikās lāye wothū
    gāganas sagūn myulu sāmi tsratā
shūñ golu ta anāmay motū
    yūhuy wopadesh chuy batā

wākh manas kol-akol nā ate
    tshopi mudri āti nā pravesh
rozan shiwa-shekath nā ate
    motuyey kūh ta sūy wopadesh.

In rendering the Sayings in English verse Lallā's metre, which, as it has come down to us in popular form, is rough and ready, has been followed as closely as may be, substituting five stresses for four in each line. Take the rendering of the above two verses :

whēn by dīsciplīne repeāted oft
    āll the wīde is līfted to the void
ūnivērse and ēther mērge aloft
    brāhman thīs is doctrine ūnalloyed.

whēn the void withīn itsēlf is solved
    ānd ethēreālity destroyed
only īs well-bēing ūnresolved.
    brāhman thīs is doctrine ūnalloyed.

whēre the wēal is thēre no thought of mind
    āction nor ināction māy intrūde
vows of sīlence ēntry faīl to fīnd
    nor avāils the mystic āttitūde

there nor ēven shīva reīgns suprēme
    nor his wēdded ēnergy hath swāy
only īs the somewhat līke a drēam
    thēre pursūsing ān elūsive way.

It will be observed that in this case two quatrains in the rendering have been necessary to explain the meaning of each of Lallā's verses.

The above remarks, however, do not quite explain the verses of the rendering, as they will be found by the reader. Lallā's metre as above shown is in fact very loose indeed. Her verses would make the hair of an orthodox Indian poet stand on end. She starts really with an Indian *dohā* as her basis, which is purely quantitative verse, and the abandons quantity altogether and depends on stress-accent alone—in this she does exactly what the early Christian monkish writers did with their Latin hymns. In this also she is very irregular, and her accentuated verse only follows the plan above explained in a general sense.

In rendering Lallā's verse into English accentuated verse, I have tried to represent her in a rough metre in two ways : (1) by following her style as nearly as may be ; (2) by some irregularity of metre. I have taken it to be more important to represent her meaning and her style than to achieve minute perfection in versification.

A word as to the representation of Oriental terms in English characters. Those readers who have knowledge of Oriental languages need not troble to try to pronounce the Oriental terms found in this book in the manner of the Eastern peoples, but they will get them fairly accurately if they will recollect to pronounce every letter, the vowels as in Italian and the consonants as in English, especially as the length of the long vowels is indicated by the circumflex. It is also well to treat *th* as *t* and *ph* as *p*. If readers desire to place the stress on the correct syllables they should consult Oriental scholars. In the Glossary some diacritical marks are used so that scholars may recognise the words as they would appear in the vernacular scripts concerned.

Readers should, however, understand that Sanskrit, the Oriental language chiefly used in this book, is pronounced by the natives of modern India dialectically. That is to say, the pronunciation, especially of certain characters, is not the same everywhere. This fact creates a difficulty in writing it in English, or indeed in any European script., *e.g.*, the character usually transliterated in English by *sh* is in the North almost invariably pronounced *kh* : that written *v* is pronounced either as *b* or *w* : and final *a* is dropped. So that, to take an extreme case, what is usually written in English as *vishaya* is pronounced in a large part of India as *bikhay.* Scholars have got over the difficulty by adopting *s* with a diacritical mark, *ṣ*. There is another character also written *s* with a diacritical mark, *ś*, which is usually pronounced like English *sh*, or with a sound near it. There is also, of course, an ordinary *s*. So that we get scientifically *s*, *ś* : many writers also use *c*, for *ś*. But I do not wish to worry the reader with technicalities like these, and have adopted *sh* and *s* only, and write *vishaya*, Shiva, etc., as being suited to a book for the English reader about Kāshmīrī literature. I only make this note to let the reader know what the situation is.

I have adopted a similar plan in other difficult cases. But in one instance I have given way to scholars. There is a ligaature, long written in English script as *jñ*, by way of truly transliterating the Sanskrit form. But *jñ* is unfortunately unpronounceable even by native Indians, at any rate when initial as it not unfrenquently is, and its pronounciation consequently suffers from much dialectic variation. It is usually pronounced *gy* in the North, as *dny* in the West, as *ny* in the South, and *dy* in some localities. In Kashmīr it is *gy*. Again unfortunately it occurs in some common words, as *jñāna*, knowledge. So I have compromised in this work, and have put both *gy* and *jñ* wherever the character occurs, and have written *gyāna* (*jñaña*) : *vigyāna* (*vijñāna*).

It is really imposible to satisfy both the scholarly purist and the general reader in the matter of representing Sanskrit and indeed any Oriental, words in English script, and in writing them in this book I have largely followed the plan of the Government of India when faced with the same difficulties.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. He is also said to have died at Pakhlī in the Hazāra District of the Punjāb, where there is a miracle-working shrine to him. He was author of the *Zakhīratu'l-Muluk,* a treatise on political ethics. In common with other mediaeval Muhammadan holy personages the exact dates of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī are uncertain.

2. Mīr Sayyid Muhammad al-Husainī is also said to have been of Bukhāra. The whole sacerdotal succession is, however, obscure, and the introduction of the Nurbakhshīs, undoubtedly a branch of the Nakshbandīs, is attributed to another Nakshbandī, Amīr Sultān Shamsu'ddīn. The Nurbakhshīs are further mixed up in a story with the Order of the Suharwardīs, whose founder is said to have died at Baghdād in 1205 A.D., which would make them an older Order even than the Nakshbandīs.

3. *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, pp. 9, 112, 162, 205, 212, 220, 227, 242 and 252.

4. Such accounts are always confusing when exposed to criticism. The *silsila* or sacerdotal genealogy of a Sufī sect is often uncertain as to dates and sometimes self-contradictory.

CHAPTER 15

SHEIKH NOOR-UD-DIN NOORANI—THE MYSTIC POET OF KASHMIR

G. R. Malik

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Noorani is one of those outstanding personalities who have had the greatest and the most lasting influence on the culture of Kashmir. Ever since he illuminated the valley with his effulgent life, he has become a household name, the object of excessive love and veneration of the Kashmiris. He was the first Kashmiri saint who was given official recognition when in 1223-1225 (A. H.) Ata-ul-lah Khan, the Afghan governor of Kashmir, issued coins in his name. This popular love and devotion continues unabated upto this day. The Sheikh's resting place at *Chrar* is a centre of pilgrimage for all Kashmiris—high and low, literate and illiterate, Muslims and non-Muslims. His poetry and his pithy and wise sayings have, to a large extent, determined the genius of the Kashmiri language and are remembered by heart by the people.

The Sheikh had a multi-dimensional personality and left an impression on every aspect of Kashmiri life and culture. As a saint and *reshi* of uncommon purity and devotion, a dedicated servant of the common man, a poet, a great calibre and above all as a messenger of love, purification and piety his achievement is unparalleled.

The Sheikh was born in the latter half of the fourteenth century at the village Caimoh (Kulgam). There is a difference of opinion among the scholars with regard to his dates. Baba Nasib-ud-din Gazi, the earliest biographer of the Sheikh and the compiler of a *Reshinama*, states his dates as 779—842 A. H. which corresponds to 1378—1438 A.D. On the other hand, Hassan Shah Koihami, the historian of Kashmir, gives his dates as 757—820 A. H. roughly corresponding to 1357—1417 A. D. The latter has justified his dates with reference to Mulla Ahmed, an early biographer and historian.

The Sheikh's father was the descendant of a Hindu Rajput family of Kishtawar, one of whose scions had migrated to Kashmir because of a family feud and settled down here for good. The Sheikh's father accepted Islam at the hands of Yasman Reshi, son of Palasman Reshi and his Hindu name Salar Sanz was changed to Sheikh Salar. Once Sheikh Salar and his wife, Sadr Mauj, were attending upon their spiritual guide when the well-known mystic, Lal Arifa, walked that way with a bunch of flowers in her hand. Yasman got it from her and handed it to Sadr Mauj, praying at the same time for the birth of a pious son to her.

Traditions say that when the Sheikh was born he refused to suck mllk from his mother's breast. Lal Arifa once again appeared upon the scene and spoke to the new-born in a mystic language :

"Thou wert not ashamed of being born, then how art thou ashamed of sucking in the milk."

Thereupon the saint put her own breast into the child's mouth and he avidly sucked it.

When the Sheikh gained maturity, he found himself in a complex religious atmosphere. Islam had entered Kashmir long before his birth but the mode of life of the new entrants to its fold was not yet purely Islamic. No doubt, its simple teaching had a great appeal for people wearied of the futile metaphysical discussions and theological hair-splitting yet its spirit was not fully imbibed by the new converts. In fact their life was a queer mixture of the new faith and the local religious traditions smacking of asceticism. The age-old tradition of *reshism* continued to inspire the people even when they accepted Islam. The achievement of Mir Ali Hamadani, who introduced Islam on a wide scale shortly before the birth of the Sheikh, was yet to be consolidated.

The Sheikh grew up in this complex religious atmosphere. Born with a religious temperament, his childhood and boyhood were characterised by extraordinary purity of mind and character. At the age of thirteen he was married to a lady, *Zai Dedi*, who bore him two children, a daughter *Zooni* and a son *Hadir*. After the birth of his two children he took to the ascetic mode of life, renounced the world and entered a forest cave near his birth-place. He spent a long time in meditation, self-revelation and communion with the Supreme. After twelve years of meditation when he came out of the cave, he was a zealous missionary of his cult of purity, piety, love and brotherhood. He had grasped the basic fact that Islam needed consolidation and that the best way to consolidate it was to adapt it to the local circumstances—the *reshi* tradition.

As already mentioned Kashmir had a well established *reshi* tradition even before the advent of Islam. *Reshi*, in Sanskrit, means a singer of hymns. As a religious term it was used to describe exceptionally religious, God-fearing and ascetic men irrespective of religion or denomination to which they belonged. The Sheikh was drawn towards this cult in his early youth and after his meditation he decided to adopt the *reshi* way to preach the teachings of Islam to the masses. He had a heart-felt reverence for the *reshis* who preceeded him and made a specific mention of them in his poetry-Zalkar, Miran, Ruma and Palasman. He praised the piety of these sons of the soil and acknowledged his debt to them. He moved from place to place preaching his gospel of peace and piety and making new disciples. A host of pur-hearted men joined his mission ; and when he died in the beginning of fifteenth century A. D. the whole of Kashmir was illumined by *reshis* trained and instructed by him.

It is very difficult to make a fair assessment of the Sheikh's contribution to Kashmiri poetry. The task is beset with many difficulties not easy to overcome. The first difficulty is posed by the fact that the Sheikh's poetry has got inextricably mixed up with the poetry of Lalishori. The thought-content and the form of the two poets are so similar that they cannot be distinguished from each other. Both of them share the credit of laying the foundation of the charming edifice of Kashmiri poetry. No considerable literary work in Kashmiri had been done before them. Shati Kant, who, with some justification, is regarded as the first Kashmiri poet, uses a language which seems to be a form of Sanskrit rather than Kashmiri. The first extent poetic works in Kashmiri are, therefore, the writings of Lal and the Sheikh. The fact, however, remains that a lot of confusion is caused by their getting mixed up with each other.

Anothur difficulty is that of language. The form of Kashmiri used by the Sheikh is archaic and full of words now out of use. Sanskrit words and phrases abound in it so that a good portion of it is nearly unintelligible. To my knowledge not a single scholar has yet claimed to have a full understanding of the Sheikh's poetry.

Yet another difficulty is that writings of many later poets have been ascribed to the Sheikh in order to sanctify them. *Gongal Nama*, for instance, can never be a production of the Sheikh. Its language is so developed, its lyricism so unlike his poetry that a discerning mind at once recognizes the difference. Yet such a shrewd critic as Abdul Ahmad Azad regards it as a work of the Sheikh. Similarly many later folk-singers and versifiers wrote verses describing the life and achievement of the Sheikh or eulogising his piety. Some of these verses too have, in many *Reshinamas*, been included in the poetry of the Sheikh; and this creates a lot of confusion. The major portion of the poetry ascribed to the Sheikh is, however, unquestionable his, and the present assessment is based upon this part of his work.

As is obvious, the Sheikh was essentially a mystic with a mission. His cult was not borrowed or accepted on authority from without but the fruit of an intense personal experience. He had not merely inherited Islam from his forefathers but had entered into its spirit and made it his own. So strong was his dedication to his cause ; and so pure and sincere was his faith that he could not express his experience but in the language of poetry—the language of soul and emotion. The basic tenets of Islam—monotheism, prophethood and the conception of life after-death—are described in a simple but poignant way which has a tremendous appeal. This is how he preaches monotheism :

> Absorb thyself in the meditation of thy creator
> And hanker not after this world of dust;
> Devote thy transitory life to the remembrance of the Lord.
> And make thyself immortal.

Religion to him was not a dogma and a rītual but a personal spiritual experience. About the well known *Kalima* of Islam, which states in nutshell the fundamentals of muslim faith, he wrote :

> I uttered the *Kalima*, experienced the *Kalima*,
> Converted myself into the *Kalima*.
> *Kalima* permeated into every fibre of my being,
> I reached the abode of the Abodeless with *Kalima*.

Love and obedience of prophet Mohammed is considered to be the most essential article of faith in Islam after the faith in God. The Sheikh writes :

> Give up the way of the faithless
> And tread the path of truth.
> Forget not the prophet Mohammed
> Nor put him to shame by choosing the path of hell.

Almost half the poetry of the Sheikh is taken up with the conception of death and the life-after-death :

> Thou wilt be thrown aside on thy death,
> Thy flesh and bones will rot in the mud,
> Thou wilt be questioned for what thou hast, done
> Impiety doth not behove a muslim.

Feelingly does the poet invite his contemporaries to follow the *Quranic* teachings in their day to day life. Nimaz, Fasts and other religious ceremonies are enjoined upon not as rituals but as significant symbols of a dynamic faith.

Like a true and pious mystic the Shiekh denounces hypocricy both of the worldly-wise and the egoitistic but most unholy saints. Mere knoweldge is misleading and fatal to an individual who does not translate it into action. The so called *alims*, the monopolists of knowledge are warned of a grievous punishment in the hereafter :

> You have acquired knowledge for selfish ends,
> Your endeavour is to see each other fall,
> You consider yourself to be the favourites of the Lord Here,
> But There not one per thousand can escape the doom.

Meditation is the way to self-revelation and communion with the Supreme but this should never lead to inaction and renunciation of the world. On the other hand it should make man the dedicated servant of others. It should inculcate in him the qualities of self-control, piety, truthfulness, sincerity and love. A life of piety is not lived in the caves but in the humdrum routine of daily life. True to the revolutionary spirit of Islam, the Sheikh pointedly remarks that if piety lies in renunciation, rats and monkeys are the most pious creatures.

This, in brief, is the burden of the Sheikh's poetry. This is a religious message and one who propagates such a message shou'd be as frigid and fake as a religious preacher normally is. But this is not the case with the Sheikh because he does not teach but expresses an intense individual experience His is not the language of reason, the language of a philosopher but the language of one who has felt with every fibre of his being, what he utters. The result is that he writes a poetry of tremendous power and irresistible appeal. With the exception of Lalishori, his is the first blank verse in language spontaneous and free and as swaying as are the scenes and sights and springs and rivers of this flower-covered valley.

Poetry is untranslatable, and hence it is difficult to illustrate the poetic beauties of the Sheikh's writings. Reference would, however, be made to the rich imagery that odorns his poetry everywhere. The difficulty, however, remains that the full charm and significance of this imagery can be grasped only by one who understands the Kashmiri language. A brief hymn to God reads :

> Thou art mine, Here as well as There,
> Convert this heap of dust into a blooming flower bed.
> I seek Thee leaving all aside,
> Unveil thy beauty and let me gaze.

Here is a poignant cry of repentance :

> Darkness in the deep dark wood,
> O Lord, forgive my sins.

In another apostrophe to the Lord, the poet exclaims :

> Thou hast filled my lap with smouldering fire
> And torn my heart to shreds.

A Lover of the Lord is described thus :

> A Lover is he who is burnt by the consuming fire of love
> And shines forth like gold in the furnace.

And thus is he (the Lover) apostrophised :

> Taste the fire, swallow the poison
> And ferry thyself across the stream of blood.

CHAPTER 16

BILHANA

B. N. Pandit

Khonamooh is a tiny village near Pampore and is situated at the foot of the barren hill, surrounding the beautiful Dal Lake, on its other side. We can see orchards of almonds, small wells and dwellings of peasants scattered here and there in the village. Very few of the grape vines praised in the 'Vikramankadeva charitam' can now be found in the village.[1] Their place has now been taken by almonds. The second and the third things of praise about this ancient village were the saffaron and some dwellings of scholars and saints of high merit.[2] Both these things have now disappeared from this ancient site of great poets and scholars.[3] But, even then, the very name Khonamooh revives the memory of the great poet Bilhana, a nightingale of Sanskrit Literature, who was born and educated in this village, some time in the eleventh century of the Christian era.

Kashmir was governed by the wicked king Kalasadeva, who was a tyrant and who committed so many atrocities on people. Among all the Hindu rulers of Kashmir, he was next only to Mihira Kula in tyranny. He would least care to honour any artist, poet, scholar or saint. How could Bilhana, a youthful and ambitious scholar and poet, keep contented at a place ruled by such a tyrant ? He wanted appreciation, honour, fame and name and therefore, left Kashmir and travelled from place to place in the Northern India earning name and fame, getting wealth and giving it away in alms to worthy people and defeating scholars and writers in competition at all places.[4] Then he stayed for some time at the court of Anhilvada. The tradition says that it is this place, where he composed a very beautiful love lyric under the title "Caura Pancasika."

The episode about the lyric is more akin to European traditions than to Indian—A princess is in love with someone who is caught red-handed in her palace and is sentenced to death. He is taken to the gallows and there the executioners ask him to remember his favourite God before being killed. The secret lover starts to remember his beloved, the princess in different postures, emotions and conditions and in this way recollects so many past scenes of his romantic, happy and fruitful love in beautiful verses, because she alone can, in his opinion, be his favourite goddess. People collected round about became very much interested in the poetry of the secret lover, recited by him, at the verge of his death and were moved and impressed by his deep and strong emotion of love for the princess. They forget for the time being, the sin and the offence committed by the lover and are taken away by the waves of the fast and the vigorous flow of the streams of love, emitting out of the heart and the speech of the sentenced lover. They start to curse the king and the law of the land, which were becoming the course of the untimely death of such a youthful handsome and glorious lover.

The princess, on the other hand, ascends the upper-most roof of her palace and takes her stand on a point from where she can see her lover about to be killed. She has a long silken rope with her and is prepared to hang herself as soon as her lover is killed, so that she can meet him in the other world without any delay. Let the other world be a heaven or a hell. She does not care a bit about that but is interested only in her reunion with her lover as soon as it is possible. The news is carried to her mother—the senior queen. She carries it to the king who summons his senior ministers. The matter is quickly reconsidered and it is resolved to get back the secret lover and to perform the ceremony of a regular marriage between him and the princess. A messenger is sent at once to the execution ground who reaches there just when the sentenced lover had recited the fiftieth verse and had asked the executioners to kill him immediately, because he could no longer bear the pangs of separation from his beloved, the princess. He is, at once, carried back to the palace and the princess is regularly married to him with due pomp and show.[5]

We find in Sanskrit anthologies some verses attributed jointly to Bilhana and some princess. Those verses suggest a strong and irresistible love between the two. For instance the princess says in the first half of a couplet—

"This is the compound of the fearful lion, who plays with the blood of the gangs of ru ting mad elephants !"[6]

Bilhana replying to it, in the second, half says—

"Does, even then, a youthful elephant ever leave the *sallaki* plant (a plant so much liked by elephants) with the shining and playful tiny leaves ?"[7]

Bilhana says in the first half of another verse :—"The birth of Nalini (a lotus plant) has been useless, because she never saw the sphere of Moon with its cool and delighting rays."

The princess says in reply[8] :—

"The birth of the Moon god also has been absolutely in vain because he has never seen the Nalini (a lotus plants) in full bloom (because it is in full bloom at daytime & not at night)."[9]

Such verses attributed jointly to Bilhana and some princess have given rise to a tradition that Bilhana was appointed to the princess, who used to learn from him, but was kept under a veil. The second verse cited above suggests this part of the tradition. 'The princess under the veil' is the lotus plant without a bloom and the poet Bilhana placed behind a curtain and, consequently, not seen by the princess is the Moon-god not seen by the 'Nalini.' The poet is himself the secret lover and the composer as well as the reciter of the fifty verses at the verge of his ordered death. Poet Bilhana is known as the "Caura" which means a thief, that is a secret lover in the later tradition.[10]

From Anhilvada the great poet left for far—South and stayed at the court of Vikramaditya VI, a brave Rajput prince of the chalukya dynasty of Kalyani. There he became the court poet (*Vidyapati*) of that emperor of the South and enjoyed honour and respect equal to that enjoyed by the emperor himself.[11] But how deep are the roots of the love and affection for one's motherland which penetrate inside the mind of a being! Bilhana, enjoying the royal patronage of the greatest Indian prince of the time, is impatient to have just a chat with his Kashmirian brothers who, in his opinion, are possessed of such an insight as can attract the very essence of a doctrine.[12]

Bilhana, while staying at the Chalukya court, composed two important works. One of them is a historical epic poem known as the "Vikramanka-Deva Charitam" in which he has narrated in beautiful poetic style the history of the family of his patron Vikramaditya VI. The other one is a drama known as the "Karna Sundari Natika." It is the only available drama composed by dramatists of Kashmir. Drama was a very popular art in this land. It enjoyed royal patronage all along the Hindu Period of History. But it deteriorated during the reign of some Muslim rulers who thought it to be opposed to the doctrines of Islam.

Bilhana has been described by Kalhana, in his Raja Tarangini. He has himself narrated some of his history in the last canto of his epic. The gap in his history, as said above, is filled by the literary tradition. He is, on the one hand, one of the greatest Indian poets who composed historical poetry in Sanskrit and, on the other, one of the most important authors of the Indian lyric poetry. His style in the 'Caurapancasika' is elegant and charming and in the 'Vikramanka-Deva-Charitam' it is forceful and scholarly. His 'Karna Sundari' is sufficiently interesting as a piece of dramatic art. Its Prakrit is very beautiful. So, Bilhana, as a poet, is one of the glorious sons of the land of Kashmir. This land and especially the village Khonamooh can ever feel proud of having produced a poet like him.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. एको भागः प्रकृतिसुभगं कुङ्कुमं यस्य सूते ।
द्राक्षामन्यः सरससरयूपुण्ड्रकच्छेदपाण्डूम । (वि. दे. च.)
2. स्थाने स्थाने सुकृतवसतेर्मण्डलाग्रावतंसा ।
धर्मस्याविष्कृनकलिभयस्याङ्गरक्षा बभूवुः ।। (Ibid.)
3. व्याख्यास्थानान्यमलसलिला यस्य कूपाप्रपाश्च । (Ibid.)
4. (i) काश्मीरेभ्यो विनिर्याति राज्ये कलश भूपतेः ।
विद्यापतिं यं कार्णाटश्चक्रे पार्माडिभूपतिः । (रा. तरं.)
(ii) दिशि दिशि कृताः सम्पदः साधु भोग्याः । (वि. दे. च.)
(iii) प्राप्ता योग्यैः सह कलहतः कुत्र नोच्चः जय श्रीः ।। (Ibid.)
5. See "Bilhana Kavyam" and "Vidya Sundaram".
6. अङ्गणं तदिदमुन्मदद्विपश्रेणिशोणितविहारिणो हरेः । (शां. पद्ध.)
7. उल्लसत्तरुणकेलिपल्लवां सल्लकीं त्यजति किं मतङ्गजः । (Ibid)
8. निरर्थकं जन्म गतं नलिन्याः यया न दृष्टं तुहिनांशुबिम्बम् । (Ibid)
9. उत्पत्तिरिन्दोरपि निष्फलैव दृष्टा विनिद्रा नलिनी न येन।। (Ibid)
10. यस्याश्चोरः चिकुरनिकरः कर्णपूरो मयूरः ।
11. राज्ञोऽग्रे ददृशे तुङ्ग यस्यैवातपवारणम् । (रा. तरं.)
See also above No. 4.
12. गोष्ठीबन्धः सपदि सुजनैः सारनिष्कर्षदक्षप्रज्ञालब्धस्तुतिभिरीचरादस्तु
काश्मीरकैर्मे । (वि. दे. च.)

CHAPTER 17

LIFE-SKETCH OF ABHINAVAGUPTA

K. N. Dhar

Abhinavagupta has been extolled as "Mahamahesvara" by the subsequent Kashmiri authors, his disciples, and admirers, the name precisely means the "great devotee of Siva" or the "Supreme-self" in Saivistic parlance. Kashmiri tradition also is unequivocal in testifying to his versatility. He wrote on philosophy (Saiva-Darshan, commentary on Bhagvad Gita), commented upon Anandavardhan's "Dhvanayaloka" and Bharat's "Natya Shastra". He, thus. epitomized in himself the diverse talents of a philosopher, rhetorician and a critic on dramaturgy. Moreover, on Ksemendra's testimony, we know that he himself studied literature (Sahitya) with such a learned Guru.[1] His command over rhetorics was so enthralling that Mammatta the reputed author of "Kavya Prakash" out of that veneration for his erudition in the subject refers to him as "Abhinavagupta pada."[2] Pada is added to the names to show great respect.[3] Vamana, the propounder of Riti school in Indian Rhetorics and commentator of "Kavya Prakasha" known as "Bala Bodhini" has alluded to Abhinava Gupta as "an intellectual giant and like a serpent (terror) to his young school fellows." This all goes to prove that Abhinavagupta deserves these compliments fully as given to him by the Kashmiri tradition and literary authors as will be shown. later.

However, in Indian literary tradition two such names have come down to us. The first Abhinavagupta belongs to Kamarupa (Assam) and is a Sakta a—worshipper of Sakti or Devi The solitary reference made to him is by one Madhva in his "Shankara Digvijaya"[4] who also wrote a *Shankar Bhashya*, presumably on Badrayan's *Vedanta Sutras*. He was a contemporary of Shankaracharya who lived according to accepted opinion from 788 to 820 A. D. Abhinava Gupta of Assam was in the first instance antagonistic to the monistic theory as preached by Sankara, but having been defeated in the *Shastrartha* (interpretation of the sacred lore) became his disciple. The Indologist of Dr. Aufrecht's calibre should not have made such glaring mistake as to include ' Shaktabhashya" among the works of Abhinavagupta of Kashmir.[5] Perhaps the prefixes "Shakhta" and "Maheshwara" make all the difference between the two and this distinction has been made clear between the two even in early times.

Abhinavagupta being a conscious artist was not averse to biography. He has given in the colophons of his various works his genealogy and also some dates. It definitely goes to his credit and does not leave us guessing. In his "*Paratrimshikha Vivarna*" he explicitly pens down the name of his earliest ancestor as Atrigupta who was born in Antarvedi—the Doab between the Ganges and Jamuna.[6] Again in "Tantraloka" he refers to his sterling qualities of head and heart and being captivated by these was brought to Kashmir—"The crest of Himalayas" by king Lalitaditya.[7] The date of the reign of Lalitaditya is circa 725—761. He was also known as Muktapida and was eager for conquests.[8] He defeated the king of Kanauj Yasovarman[9] and along with the booty brought Atrigupta also to Kashmir. Abhinavagupta goes on to record "In that beautiful city (Srinagar) like that of Kubera's (Alka) in front of the temple of "*Sheetanshumauli*" (Siva having the moon as his crest) on the Vitasta, the king got built for him a spacious house and also granted a Jagir of land to him.[10] There is a veritable gap of century and a half between Atrigupta and Abhinavagupta's grand father Varahagupta. In between the two, the author has left the family tree blank for reasons best known to him. Coming direct to the *Tantraloka* commentary, Abhinavagupta explicity says that his father was Narasimhagupta, popularly known as Chukulaka and his mother's name was Vimalakala.[11]

Herein we have to refer to the observation made by late Madhusudan Kaul of the Kashmir Research Department who in his introduction to "Ishvara Pratyabhijnā" has erroneously taken Laksmanagupta as his father.[12] Swami Laksmana Ji also corroborates the other view that Narsimhagupta was his father.[13] More so, the direct confession of Abhinava Gupta as regards his parents and their names leaves nothing to argue about.[14] Laksmanagupta was definitelv one of the preceptors of Abhinavagupta who initiated him into the pratyabhijnā Shastra as aknowledged by him in his introduction to *Ishvara Pratyabhijnā Vivritivimrashini* in the words :

"Shri Laksmanagupta showed me the path to pratyabhijnā theory (recognition)."

The silence of Kalhana about Abhinavagupta as such is intriguing he mentions three "Abhinavas" in his Raja Tarangni and the suffix" Gupta'. he has not appended with any of these. The first Abhinava[15] is a "Divira" or a scribe, the second foster-brother of Kayyamantaka in the reign of Samgramaraja[16] and the third a Damara[17] a landed aristrocat, where the name of Abhinavagupta appears as scholar of repute or a Saiva, whereas he has at times referred to such names as Muktakana, Shivasvamin Anandavarhana and Ratnakara etc.[18] It may be argued that our author was more after learning than after the favour of kings, hence not attached to any court. Consequently Kalhana, whose forte being the description of kings skips over him. However, the fame which Abhinavagupta acquired during his life-time and even after could not have eluded the chronicler Kalhana. He could not ignore the powerful Kashmiri tradition. While mentioning Ananda Vardhana the name of Abhinavagupta would have been a natural corollary being his commentator. Subsequent research in this behalf might throw some light on this omission. About his date or probable years in which he lived, he has bequeathed to us some keys which if properly used, can unlock this bane of Indian date-keeping most easily. In the last verse of "*Brhati Vimarsini*' he states that he finished this assignment in the 90th year when 4115 years of Kaliynga had elapsed : by deducting 25 years from the Kali era, the local or Saptarsi era can be found It works at 4090th year of the Saptarsi calendar and the word "Navatitame" used by him in that verse corresponds to 90th year of 4000 Kali era. Even we at present write down only 74 when actually it is 1974—seventy fourth year of 1900 Christian era.

Again in one of his *Stotras* which is called "*Bhairavastava*" in the last verse he gives the date and his name also :

Abhinavagupta composed this Stava (eulogy) on the 10th of dark fortnight in the month of Pausha in the year Vasu 8 Rasa (6)." In Sanskrit the digits are read from left, hence it comes to 68. It is definitely the 68th year of the Saptarsi Samvat 4000 as shown above. Moreover in his *Kramastotra* he again refers to date as :

"In the 66th year, on the ninth day of dark fortnight, I, Abhinavagupta, in the month of Maghar, praised Lord Siva." So it can safely be inferred that Abhinavagupta's literary period extended from 4066 to 4090 Laukika or Saptarsi era corresponding to 990-1015 A.D. Even though we have tried to locate the period but at the same time, we are not sure that *Kramastotra* is his first work. It is to be remembered in this context, that Abhinavagupta having written a host of books, the chronological order of his works cannot be fixed easily. Those works which bear the dates can be arranged without any effort, but those which have no date or have not been referred to by the subsequent authors will defeat any such solution. In this way we can safely say that "Kramastotra" might not be his first composition, it might be pushed back to two decades at least as in the chronological order fixed by Dr. K.C. Pandey this Stotra, stands at No. 13. Hence we might safely assume that his literary career commenced from 970 A.D. According to his own testimony he adopted many Gurus for pursuing knowledge in different fields and even went outside Kashmir, presumably to Jalandhar to find a Guru "Shamboo Nath" there. The years of initiation after which maturity dawned on him might be taken not less than 30 years, after which confidence was gained by him to write independently. Hence we might place his birth nearabout 940 A.D. He might have lived even beyond 1015 A.D. and the varacity of the tradition prevalent in Kashmir to this day, that he entered a cave while recting the "Bhairavastava" along with 1200 disciples and was never seen again cannot be doubted. This cave, alleged to have received the mortal frame of Abhinavapupta, is situated at Birwa village some five miles from Magam on the Gulmarg range.

So it is not surprising to find that "Jayaratha" alludes to his being[19] that his parents while uniting for his birth rose above all worldly desires and identified themselves with Siva and Shakti. The offspring thus born called *Yognibhu*, is looked upon us a fit vehicle for propounding and propagating Savistic Monism.

Not only this Abhinavagupta has been called a Bhairava incarnate by the commentator of "Parmartha-Sara" Yoga Raja while commenting on the last line of this treatise : He has explained this epithet at length. So the traditional belief amongst the Kashmiri Pandits that Abhinavagupta was a living Bhairava in human form is not without basis.

Now we come to the place of his mental activity. From his own authority we learn that Lalitaditya had got built a palatial house for Atrigupta when he carried him along from Antarvedi in Kashmir (quoted earlier). This house was built on the banks of Vitasta. However, in one of the Mss of *Tantraloka* belonging to Late Pt. Maheshwar Razdan there is a different reading as meaning "at the head of Vitasta" i.e. the source. However, in the quotation is used the pronoun agreeing with (Sri Nagar) hence this seems to be an interpolation.

In the first verse on the Vartika on "*Malini Vijaya*" it has been specially laid down :

"The Kashmirian Abhinavagupta in the east of the city known as Pravara Pura (Srinagar) composed the Vartika on the very first verse of "*Malinivijya*"

From this it is clear that Srinagar was divided into several zones then i.e., East, West etc, and in the East zone our author lived; but nothing can be said whether this was his ancestral home or an acquired house. However, there is a reference in the Tantraloka of his having shifted to another city at the request of one of his disciples Mandra.

"Mandra in order to save him (Abhinavagupta) from distraction requested him to shift to his beautiful city."

It is also clear from this that his earlier house must have been located in a very busy centre in the city, so was not suitable for his calm composure and undivided attention so necessary for the delineation of such a terse and delicate subject as philosophy.

On the authority of Kalhana we know that Lalitaditya had built three more cities in the outskirts of Parvarapura--Srinagar. The one Parihaspura, and the other Lalitapura and the third Lokapunya. However, the former was meant as a respite for the war-worn king and all the amenities of Parihasa (enjoyment) were provided there;[20] hence it could not be a quiet city. The latter was not taken kindly to by the king as it was built by his architect in his absence[21], hence it must have been comparatively deserted and all the same calmer. It might be surmised that Mandra lived there and invited his Guru to that very city for being quieter and far from the madding crowds, so that his "distraction could be averted." The Third city along with a cluster of villages was given in offering to Vishu.[22]

Even though Abhinavagupta lived during the span of 940—1015 A.D. but no city worth the name was founded by the kings during this period. Although he saw the reigns of Yashaskara, Samgrama Deva, Ksema Gupta, Didda and Samgrama Raja, yet the cities founded by Lalitaditya still found favour with the people. Even though one century and a half had elapsed, the twin cities of Parihasapura and Lalitpura had not fallen into oblivion. In the reign of Samgrama Raja (1003-1028 A.D.) the Brahmins of Parihasapura started a fast to bring down the fall of Tunga[23], his Prime Minister. This allusion to the city nearly two hundred years after it was founded testifies to its being very important at that time and might have been the royal capital even.

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10. Tantraloka-Ah, p. 37.
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CHAPTER 18

PARAMANAND : A KASHMIRI POET

J. L. Kaul

I

I cannot trust myself on the subject of mysticism, but this I know (and it is as marvellous a coincidence as it is profoundly significant) that, across distances of space and time and in spite of divergence of country, race, religion and cultural environment, all mystics everywhere, with the inevitable difference in idiom and some slight shift of emphasis, agree on certain basic facts of experience on which their beliefs and philosophy are built.

Firstly, the ultimate Ground of all that is, the Reality, is a unity in diversity. The One alone is the Real, and sages call it variously ; *ekam sat vipra bahuda vadante*, is the earliest statement of this mystic truth in the Rig Veda.

Or

> There is true knowledge. Learn thou it is this :
> To see one indestructible Being in all beings,
> And in all the manifold shapes, one Inseparable.

> सर्वभूतेषु येनैकं भावमव्ययमीक्षते ।
> अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु तज्ज्ञानं सात्विकम् ।।

The Gita—XVIII, 20

Secondly, all this is the abode of God, as the *Isavasyopanishad* declares : *Isavasyam idam sarvam.*

Or

The Lord dwelleth in the hearts of all beings, O Arjuna.

ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हुद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्टति

The Gita—XVII, 61

Thirdly, if all this is pervaded by God (*maya tatamidam sarvam*), he who sees God in everything and sees everything in God, he never loses hold of God, and God does not lose hold of him. Indeed, howsoever engaged, he who has firmly realized unity and worships God as abiding in all beings, is a yogi and abides in God.

यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वंः च मयि पश्यति ।
तस्थाहं न प्रणश्यामि स च से न प्रणाश्यति ।।

The Gita—VI, 30

and

सर्वभूतस्थितं यो मां भजत्येकत्वमास्थितः ।
सर्वथा वर्तमानोऽपि स योगी मयि वर्तते ।।

The Gita—VI, 31

And fourthly, as an inevitable corollary, in whatsoever way men approach God even so does. He bless them, for the paths men take from every side reach Him.

ये यथा माँ प्रपद्यन्ते ताँस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तंते मनुष्या पार्थ सर्वशः ।

The Gita—IV, 11

"There are" says Plotinus, "different roads by which this end (the apprehension of the Infinite) may be reached, the love of beauty, which exalts the poet ; that devotion to the One and that ascent of science which makes the ambition of the philosopher ; and that love and those prayers by which some devout and ardent soul tends in its moral purity towards perfection. These are the great highways conducting to that height above the actual and the particular where we stand in the immediate presence of the Infinite, who shines out as from the deeps of the soul." While, therefore. the ways of approach to God are many, as many as are the forms of aspects of the One-Infinite, the Hindu mystic has recognised the three highways of *jnana*, *karma*, and *bhakti* psychologically corresponding to the triune aspect of the human mind cognition, conation and emotion. Of these *bhakti* may well be the first step, but it is certainly also the last ; for by devotion man knows God in essence, and having known Him thus, he enters into the Supreme.

भक्त्या मामभिजानाति यावान्यश्चास्मि तत्वत: ।
ततो मां तत्वतो ज्ञात्वा विशते तदनंतरम ।।

The Gita—XVIII, 55

These are, if you may call them so, the philosophical contents of Paramanand's poetry ; but he is a *bhakti* mystic and the quest of human soul for God and of God for the human soul is the predominant underlying theme or, in Tillyard's significant phrase, the great commonplace of his poetry. It is not stated directly as a philosopher would but expressed as a poet would, "obliquely" in, what is universally recognised as the language both of mystics as well as of poets, the language of symbol and allegory. The human soul pursues God and God pursues the human soul in a perpetual *raas-lila* or dance-play. This is the central theme which Parmanand works out in his three longer poems, *Radhasvyamvara*, *Sudama Charitra*, and *Siva Lagan*. His poetry, like that of other mystic poets, is intimately bound up with his beliefs ; and, bred and brought up in Hindu mystic tradition as he was, it is built round the beliefs and mystic practices, symbolism and allusions, of Hindu mysticism.

II

Philosophy, albeit mystical, is not however, poetry. It becomes poetry only when the poet's imagination "bodies forth the forms of *things*.' (that is, ideas incarnated) and "turns them to shapes". A verse from the *Mathnawi* of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi—

> "Vision increases the power of speech ;
> the inspired speech makes vision more penetrating "—

very tersely but equally very profoundly states the relation between mystical experience and its expression as poetry. Neither the doctrine, the elements of a system or philosophy, nor the attitude of reverence or the language of piety, nor even its purpose of moral instruction or spiritual edification, would of itself transmute mystical or sacred verse into poetry unless it has the qualities of vision, inspiration and power. But these qualities are rare ; and in the vast body of sacred verse of any country or language the poets whose mystical poems have the authentic ring of spiritual inspiration, whose mystical vision, in the significant words of Rumi, has penetration and whose speech has power—such poets are like angels' visits, few and far between.

Mysticism is a dominant theme in Kashmiri poetry ; and right from the early beginnings in the thirteenth or the fourteenth century, from Shiti Kantha's *Mahanay Prakash* and Lal Ded's *Vaakh* upto the *lila* lyrics of Krishna Razdan of Vanpoh in the second decade of the present century, we have produced noteworthy mystical poets, both Hindus and Muslims: Sheikh Noor-ud-Din of Crari Sharif, Khwaja Habibullah Nowshehri, Rupa Bhawani, Qalandar Shah, Abdul Ahad Nazim, Mohi-ud-Din Miskin, Khwaja Akram, Rahman Dar, Shams Faqir, Aziz Darwesh, Wahab Khar of Shar. Mirza Kak of Hangalgund, Lachi Kak of Srinagar, and numerous other poets, little known and unknown. But much of what even the noteworthy among these poets have written is unequal in merit, at its best didactic and homiletic, albeit popular on account of wise saws and pithy sayings ; it is instructional in character and largely imitative of Rumi and other Persian mystical poets, borrowing not only the ideas but also the epithets and phrases, often stale enough, and also their hackneyed imagery, symbolism and conceit ; while, as its average, it is even inferior stuff, sentimental, platitudinous, morbidly gloomy, and even obscure. But there are remarkable exceptions in a few of the poems written by the poets I have named and a few more anonymous, and certainly almost everything which is genuine Lal Ded. I say 'genuine' because much spurious mystical verse is erroneously attributed to her. In her passionate apprehension, authenticity of experience, travail of soul, penetrating vision, and the energy of her idiom and terse imagery, Lal Ded's mystical quatrains are among the best of their kind. And there is Paramanand.

III

Nand Ram (1790 c. to 1880)* better known by his pen-name Paramananda, was the son of Krishna Pandit, and was born in his father's village Sir, seven miles from Mattan, a famous pilgrimage-place on the way to Sir Amaranath Cave. His mother, Saraswati, came from Mattan where his father was a *patwari* and where he himself later made his permanent home. Sir has a sacred spring, a shrine of the goddess Saraswati, where young Nand Ram worshipped, though at a later date he seems to have shifted his devotions to Mother Bharga Shikha, a shrine sacred to Durga, picturesquely situated on top of a hill which forms the background of the famous Mattan Springs.

Bharga-rūp nav Durga ca mān
Sorgalūkaki chi tātIthay namān
Ishtradīvī che pananī pramān
man thēr karū pūzun Prabhū

Cling in steadfast faith unto *Nav Durga*
in her *Bharga* aspect as Resplendent Light.
Her whom the dwellers of Heaven worship,
none other than our own *Ishtadevi*,
Whom we must worship as our chosen Goddess—
Steady thy mind and worship the Lord.

The streamlets and springs set in relief with the adjoining hills of the pretty village of Mattan must have stirred in Paramananda his sense of the beautiful and the musical; and to this we owe some very charming devotional lyrics sung extempore by him. He seems to have been fond of music and himself played on the *sitar* in accompaniment to his songs. Life at Mattan must also have brought him into contact with *sadhus* coming from outside Kashmir ; and his poems reveal his familiarity with *Bhagwatpurana* and *Sivapurana*, the *Mahabharata*, Shatcakra Upasana and Kundalini, Yoga, and the broad principles of Vedanta and Saivism. He is also said to have intently listened to the recitations of *Guru Granth Saheb* by a Sikh Sadhu. This, apart from evoking in him piety and devotion, has left its imprint in several songs with which his *Radhasvyamvara* is interspersed. These songs are written in, what may be called, Punjabi Hindi, as, for instance.

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* For a fuller account see *Paramananda* Vol. I by Zinda Kaul to whom every lover of Paramananda owes a debt of gratitude.

मन कंसा तन मथुरा होंदा ।
कृष्ण आत्मा हृदि गोकल रहंदा ।
नारद विवेक सच सुनिया देंदा ।
Or, खेल में फैल पयो नन्दलाला ।

These songs are at times so amusing that I am reinforced in my opinion that Paramanand could not have missed their being so and with a wry smile of amusement let them be.

सदके वुलाओ उसको सदके सदके
क्या आना तदके मर जाना जदके

We find little reference in his poems to the events of his own life except where he bemoans his lonely helplessness in old age, as in

kun ta kīval ta sār sūrmac āsh
nepotar ta netran rūdmut na gāsh
conuy on ta cay atha raṭanas
cāh ti conuy yod yima phaṭanas

Alone and lonely, and in despair,
childless, with eyesight nearly lost—
I am Thy blind man, O Lord ! and have
Thee alone to lead me by the hand ;

For should I stumble into a pit,
The pit too, I know, is Thine.

Paramanand, it may be mentioned, had two sons and two daughters but neither of his sons survived him ; one of them died at a very early age while the other died young, leaving a widow behind. He is said to have received quite a few scoldings from his wife, Malded, who certainly did not look up to him, an other worldly-minded man, with any reverence or awe; but there is remarkably little discontent in his poetry, there is no gloom and certainly no despair ; the only wail is of a God-lover's wail of separation from his God.

At the death of his father, when he was twenty-five, he succeeded to the village patwari and, till he resigned many years later, he was the village patwari ; but he seems to have lived radiantly happy in his poverty unmindful of his wife's scorn and scolding, and to have retained the sanity of humour to satirize his own profession. This is what he says about one Radhu Mal Mishra, a petty Revenue Official of the days :

Misrā chu be-nokhta Rod
von chukh yi dādis dod
bihith chuh volrizan
hāran chuh tulrizan
Mattan che khāhish tas
PathwarI, dinI dharmas
thāran chi gāran kas
vānI tav yi bahī kyāh
gayi na sahīh zāh

A line without a dot is Radhu Mal,
A calamity on top of calamities ;
encamped in Vular, he fulminates,
blowing bornets from his mouth.
"In Mattan he, our officer, intends
to make at *shradh* a gift of patwaris,
so many heads—than cattle cheaper far—
whom will be please to choose ?" they trembling ask.

Say, will the account of patwaris
be ever reckoned right ?

There is also the incident when he had to carry a sheep for a Revenue Official all the way from Mattan to Khanabal which provoked a popular devotional poem :

trāhi mām trāhe pāhe murārī
kaṭa sankaṭa hi mukaṭadarī
Save me, O save me, Lord,
from this dire calamity (this sheep-load on my back) !

Here we have a pun on "kata sankata" which may, translated literally, mean "the sheep-calamity" or merely a dire calamity.

Paramanand's genius flowered rather late but when he heard the call, it was unmistakable and there was no denying it. "Listen", he expostulates with himself, "Saraswati Herself is speaking to you" (*kan thav Saraswati chay vanan*). He resigned his Patwar and gave up his days to practical mysticism, his *upasana* and *yoga* ; and gathered round himself a band of devoted disciples among them Lakshman Joo "Bulbul" of Nagam, a poet in his own right, and Sahib Ganai the Lambardar, who helped to keep him above want. He died at a ripe old age of well nigh a century in 1936 (Samvat) the date obtained from "*abjad*" reckoning one of the Poet Bulbul's Persian verse.

IV

Paramanand's poems may very roughly be divided into shorter poems and longer poems. The shorter poems comprise the *stotras*, hymns or songs of praise to Sri Ganesha, Sri Rajna Devi, Siva, and other deities ; poems that are predominantly didactic or instructional in theme for the edification of the spiritual aspirant ; *lila*-lyrics, many of them interspersed among the three longer poems ; and, what may be called, the purely mystical poems, fruits of his life-long *sadhana* and self-realization. It is probably right to say that this order of classification according to their theme is also their chronological order. He is also said to have, at an early age, tried his hand at Persian verse under the pen-name of "Garib" but none of these exercises are extant.

The *stotras* are inferior as poetry. In them there is no note of exaltation, no revelation ; they usually sing praises of the deities, asking for a true direction of the will and for strength to be able to resist the temptations of the world. The devotee prays to Sri Ganesha to awaken him and not let him sleep the sleep of ignorance ; or he prays to Lord Siva to rescue him from the whirlpool of the mundane world and to ferry him across the ocean of being. In some of them the poet sometimes speaks in the effete metaphor of his contemporary love poetry in which the lover suffers the smart and burns of love and the scorn and ridicule of others, and, indeed, in which he is turned into ashes in love's hot oven. Or, he longs to meet the Lord as the woman lover of the poetry of his time longs to meet her Love, who left her early in the morning, turning her heart upside down. She would rub saffron and sandal wood on his soft limbs, and, ah! she, a Jessamine, would unite in an embrace with her Honey-Bee.

1. vuza^{n}āvtam pāvtam ma neṅdaro

2. āvalana valanay ās māyāye
   karanāvi tāranāv nād kar nāye
   yavatava yava bavasara tara...

3. Shāma nīrith gom subahan
   duba valiṅj cham pheran
   huba vaṅdahas don pādan
   koṅg caṅdun kūmal aṅgan
   raṅgarivnas mala hani hani
   hīy bomburas lāga tani tan

These are obviously early attempts, and there are not many of them, and even in these few the poet looks inwards and locates the deities within himself : The god Ganesha is the sovereign lord of the *Caturdala Mandala* while the god Siva is the rising sun of the *dvadashanta mandala*. In quite a few of them there is poignancy and pathos and sometimes a convincing personal note.

1. yacIkol ce ta me dūrer
ketha zoruth yith koruth na pūrer
ada ka yi zaṭ yali prāne
ānaṅdagana ṭāṭthi myāne
osus zal boy nermal
muhakaṭhkashī kornam chal
vacinam kicha shīnamāne
ānaṅdagana ṭāṭhi myāne

2. āy ām soran payās pāvtam
balarast kāy nata palazem kath
bujiras dola atha ratanāvtam
hāvtam pananī īshvara gath
chum khasun koh mata losanāvtam
khasakor vasakor broṅṭha tay path
rasa rasi pananī vati pakanāvtam...

Another, but not a very clear-cut, group of his poems is predominantly didactic in theme. In them we find a neat conscience of expression and perspicuity ; ideas, albeit common-place, so expressed as to make them memorable. To illustrate :

1. parādīn murkha boz lokacār chuy
yāvanas maṅz kāmuk aṅdakār chuy
bujiras naheknuk saṅkalpabār chuy
kar ca porshikār kar ca porshikar

phuṭahār lāri na yod satI khār chay
ās vāhravith naphsani gār chay
prālabdaphol sūrith patay lār chay
graṭa anvār graṭa anvār

2. baṅd kus chuh yas chuh veshvarāg
mokalyov kus yamI tath kor tyāg
pananuy chuh baṅd pananuy mokajār
shathar kam chih pananī yandrey

methar timay yeli karIzekh zay
kuni chīy zal timay ta kuni chī nār

daredar kus yas che treshna zīṭh
lakhImivān yus chuh santūshitīth
santoshṭh roz prāv anaṅdadīr

brahmagath prāvanas kyāsana hīth
rīth travith bar ca tamicī prīth
sham santūsh satsang ta vecār

There are three other poems which belong to this genre and deserve a particular mention. First, the poem on *Amaranath Yatra*, the famous pilgrimage which starts from Srinagar to the Cave of Sri Amaranath. It is significant for the dexterity with which the poet interweaves the pilgrim's progress from one sacred shrine to another with the yogic pilgrimage within one's own self from plexus to plexus. The keynote is struck in the very first verse. In the cave of the body. Satchidananda is the Phallus, seated unattached and desireless on the inmost pedestal of mind which people call the Cave of Kailash. The pilgrim has to discover and reach this goal. He starts from Ganpatyar, in the heart of Srinagar (Sri Ganesha, the lord of muladvar, very close to one's own self), thence to Shurahyar (Brahma at Svadisthan) and through the labyrinth of the Jhelum at Shivapura (the maze of Kundalini) to Sangam (dashdal) and Mamal at Pahalgam and many other stages to Shishnag (the domain of Ishvara), and Panchtarani (the five Karmas and Jnana Indriyas), up Mount Bhairava (the Ego), to the Amaravati (the stream of Immortality) and thence to Lord Siva's abode, where the pligrim must surrender (himslf and all, leaving aside other gods and goddesses. No translation summary can, however, indicate the unhindered movement of the poem or its successful interweaving of the allegory and fact of the pilgrimage ; and I must quote a few lines from the original.

man ther kar pūzun Prabhu
dihgophi Satchedānaṅdaleṅg
manapīṭhas peth byūṭh nesaṅg
lukh dapanas Kailāsa shroṅg...

goḍa Ganapatyāruk Ganīsh
dūr mo zān rūzith chū nīsh
mūladāra dārukuy mahīsh
svādishṭhana Shurāhyār
shathḍai shaṭhmokh zan Kumār
Shivpāri pheri Konḍalenī
pheravun prān tati zalakanī
sath samandar sanI voganī...
nābiveshi dashiḍala Saṅgamas
yim cāy lukh satsaṅgamas
Krishnas thāvarazangamas...
kaj travith ta vāt Thajvor
laj tati Shivajata copor
anāhatamaṅḍalas thāv ca khor...
kanṭhadīsh yus chuh codāh bavan
nilagaṅgi pēṭh boz Vāvjan
tavator pavnay ot davan
maṅzil chi maṅzI maṅzI vāryāh
choṭ vynun moṭ boz vāryāh
akrayādāracī yi kriyāh..
Ishadīsh votam Shīshnāg
hekakhay ca tarI den ta rāth zāg
rāg trāv prāv mahāvairāg
reṅzala travith reṅzapal
pavith nishanas mo ca ḍal
dharmas ta karmas chu sor phal
tyāg paṅcakrath pancytaraṅg
sath samandarukuy ceth taraṅg
padmanābas chim yim ti raṅg
asta asta khasta pancālasay
sūham bhairavbālasay
ṭokh yuth na lagi tati lālasay
rinda roz boz zinday marun
garbayātrayi apor tarun
satī chu tatī Shiva darshun...
bāv Amaravatī ca māv
mal babūth chal grahastabāv
Shivapadan pān pushirāv...

gophimañz gophi vāt panane
trāv dīvī ta divatā ane...

The second poem is the more popular one which may be entitled *The Field of Action*, and which begins with the exhortation :

Manure thy field of action with
the loam of righteousness,
then sow the seed of contentment
to reap thy crop of bliss.

Plough on both day and night
with the oxen of twin breath,
drive them relentlessly and hard
with the lashings of *kumbaka* whip.

Rest not lest any patch of the field
remains unploughed.

The third poem is less known. It is about a long-standing dispute between the Tree and the Shadow and they come to the Sun asking him to arbitrate. The Shadow complains that the Tree stands between her and the Sun ; but the Tree replies that she owes her very existence to him, and should he leave his place, she will cease to exist. "But suppose", says she, "I see the truth of it for myself" ; and presently when the Sun shines through the branches of the Tree, she feels her lips going dry out of the fear of death. Then she realizes that she cannot see the Sun apart from the Tree.

Now (asks the poet) what are the Sun, the Tree, and the Shadow ? The Sun *is* the Reality, beyond all form and yet the sustenance and support of all that is. The Tree is the whole, the three guna manifestation of the *nirguna* Reality, the *bhupa* of the Vedas. The Shadow is the *Jiva*, a semblance of consciousness, its reflection or shadow. The triple world is the Body and the Lord is the Soul.

V

Before I proceed, I shall consider a fact of importance arising out of the two poems I have referred to viz., *The Field of Action* and *The Tree and the Shadow*. Poetry is form and, as Mallārmē said, it is not written with ideas, it is written with words ; and, to my mind, a poet's diction is real mark and test of his poetry.

Paramanand's diction, in Pandit Zinda Kaul's phrase, is "Hindu Kashmiri, that is to say basic Kashmiri, frequent use of Sanskrit words," as against "Muslim Kashmiri with frequent use of Persian and Arabic words." At another place in his extremely well-written introduction to *Paramananda-Sukti-Sara* he refers to Paramananda's taking to writting "on religious and philosophical subjects in Sanskritised Kashmiri." This may not, however, be accepted without important reservations. Writing *stotras* or speaking of *chakras* and *mandalas* Paramanand used "Hindu Kashmiri" as, Aziz Darvesh, for instance, used "Muslim Kashmiri" in speaking of *habs*, *nahan-u-aqrab*, *analhaq*, *fano-fil-hah*. Paramanand did not go out of his way to seek and find "Sanskritised Kashmiri" ; it was very much there, part and parcel of the common speech. He did not "Sanskritise Kashmiri. He could not, even if he would for the good reason that he knew little or no Sanskrit, and the only language he had learnt at the *maktab* with a *mulla* was Persian. He has left, in his own handwriting, a copy of the Persian translation of *the Upanishad*, the *Upanikhet*. His family tradition was also of Persian, not Sanskrit literature ; his father has left in his own hand a copy of *the Mahabharata* in Persian. That is why he uses Sanskrit words or words of Sanskrit origin as they were used in common speech, that is, not as a Pandit would use them but as they were already adapted to the peculiar phonetics and syntax of his native tongue as, to take an extreme example, in the bead-roll of names with which he very impressively begins his *Sudama Charitra* :

nīti-shakti satI chukh nānā-rapay
khīra samandra-manza shīta dapay
vāsadīva mokha beyi shankarshanay

pradyamna anirudha shoda nermalay
seda boda veda neda shoba maṅgalay
zan kava zānanay ce neraṅzanay

Apart from the occasions when such words are the only words to use, Paramanand's diction is remarkable for the bold use of language common in the countryside and for the abundance of images drawn from homely things and incidents familiar among the rural community. It is never strained, never stilted, not drawn from book-learning but racy of the soil and rich in metaphor.

karmabūmikā (Field of Action).
Karmabūmikāyi dizi dharmuk bal
santūshi byāli bavi ānaṅdaphal
dovi prāna dāṅɗa jūrī den ta rāthvāy
kumbaka kura zora timanay lāy
hila kar yuth na bīṭh rozi kaṅh rel
lolaki alaphāla tulanavith
dara yaṭaphiri data phutaravith
varuk sreh yuth na rozes tal
vecāra bathI ta bera ladith keth
vath shrūcaravith yanadeva shroc
samadreshṭi paṅcan ada pheri zal
soṅt chuy doh tāra mot yāvun
nazi pazi sāthāh rāvrāvun
vav byol mo prār karu maṅgal
troprith phuranāyi namI vuḍar
sreh ke rabi caka satin bar
yāndrey gagaran karu vathal
bhakhachaṅɗi neṅɗiphera sāɗanāyi khītI
heli neri tapake papasaga satI
sambāvanāyi pholi paṁposhi dal
veshiye pashI vāra rachīnāvakh
timanay athi yuth na khītI khyāvakh
bāvaci ravaci ner neshkal
heli yeli papi teli sampnes krav
varāgadrāti satI lūnI lūnI trāv
sambaṅḍarost māvī lāven val

maṭikhasanaci razi maṭi maṭi sār
sādani anīzekh bay baṅd ta yār
netinema sumarani aḍa sami khal
tregonaryāganom akh gon lad
nermāna prāvakh nervanapad
sami teth tam dith karu koshal
dyānadāranāyi vānamonḍ vestār
Jñanadāna khāsa khāsa gāsanishi cār
manake anabava vara dis chal
tyāgake atha satī vara chombanāv
pron ta zag phutajan byon byon thāv
zāgi roz lāganay trāvith zol
tūlith thāv adā amba'an māl
sūhamahāyaka satī nakha vāl
loti bor vātanavith Khanabal
shama dama yama nema gāṭh vātanāv
shāṅta-shradayi zala pakanāv nāv
pānas shihlith Mānasbal
lāganāyi-vāli, māl āgas tār
khalī yuthna rozi jagirdār
phazil ta bākay neri kastal
carith beyi byol sanīceth thav
soṅt yeli yiyi teli phali phali vav
vopakāra vopanay nāvī'nāvi thal
yūgamāyāyi huṅd būgi ās
yi chay day tas rost tī kās
sādanāv pyoytay svada mo ḍal
karmaphal soranay gorashabaday
saṅceta-karam mān prālabday
karmakaṅḍa Jñana neri nāravuzmal
sūham prakāshiki vejñanay
trāvith mān beyi abimānay
pravith rozi dvādashāṅtamaṅḍal
Parmānand os zamīndār
hūrith māl tas rūzas na lār
vāṅgaj-vāric cājils gāṅgal

I have quoted it in full because it is a remarkable poem for the intimate welding of the farmer's round of duties with the spiritual aspirant's *sadhana*, a welding effected through the alchemy of metaphor. Incidentally, the poem also gives us a picture of the relationship between the tenant farmer, the landless labourer, and the landlord.

On an allied theme he wrote a short poem at the request of Wahab Khar of Shaar (Khrew) in, what Pandit Zinda Kaul would call, "Muslim Kashmiri". I quote it here even to show that, but for the different mystical symbols and allusions, the language of these two poems is drawn from the same current speech of the day.

paṅcatre bāgalis karārdādas
vādas zyāda na zi kam
karakhay goṅgul navābādas
prāni hāci tulanay na nam
khodābād kar mo prār kādas...[1]
phikritoṅga manakis nāgarādas
zikri neri ābi zam-zam
jān dyun Shīrīnī tatI Pharbādas...
cakh travith trāv cakh kāmādas
nayimaṅza labakh zīrabam
kamalyo kamavith vātakh svādas...
kamāv hosh thāv dashi phasādas
reshi ami rashinishi cam
bedād kyāh gav tas shadādas...[2]
deva vonI Wāhab vātem dādas
dādis diyam marham

yas din tas yin toray nādas...
dilsāphī pazi mardi-āzādas
Naṅḍāsay che baṅdagi kam
dādas vāt vātu pharIyādas...

Paramanand uses his native colloquial idiom with effect and verve, and there is a terse pointednes and a proverbial ring about numerous verses of his. Here are a few instances taken at random :

caṅdakuy rāvi tas yas na diyi day
dralIdas sancet poshasna vay

yas din tas yin toray nādas

caras rostuy cūr chuna âsāna
chāv yith cika-cāv bānas nerāna
tulakatriv ṭhor chu sāthāh poshāna
kāl chuna vālvāsh kal chuna zālay
pazi kathi pach pazi sārinay

shīshas ta sūras mel chā
tīl neri kanimaṅza tel chā

mokhta palazyā tarIzes na tram ta lo lo

Instances could be multiplied almost from any of his poems but I should refer to the dialogues between the Tree and the Shadow in the poem of that name, and in the longer poems, *Radha Svyamvara* and *Siva Lagan*, and to almost anywhere in *Sudama Charitra*. These instances should not only set at rest all controversies about "Hindu Kashmiri" or "Muslim Kashmiri" as regards Paramanand's diction but also help us to understand that a poet's alchemy can impart to words of common speech the lustre of gold. I shall quote only a few lines from *the Tree and the Shadow*.

kulis ta chāyi os yackāl nyāy
SirIyas nishi aṅzrani āyāy
chāyi dop setha var kornam kulI
chāyi rūdum āchin pāvInam phulI...
kulI dopus myanis sāyes tal
bacikhay ta nata trāv bācinac kal
kuni kyā rozakh na vothayay thođ
Siriyivuchinuk svād gachi hod
pananuy kāl chā pana chāran
hāvahay ta āsaham pata lāran...
pāna yusna rozi vuchavun darshun
kani kyā naphā ākāshi-varshun...
laṅji aki Siriyi tānI choṅji ḍeshān
konji galanaci as vuṭh peshān
zonun zi SirIyas vuchnac jāy
kuli rostuy chamna aṅḍyos nyāy

V

The third group of his shorter poems consists of, what I have elsewhere called, *lila*-lyrics. They are predominantly subjective wherein the poet sings as a lover-devotee of Personal God, chiefly Radhakrishna. There is in all of them a note of abandon, of joy and gaiety, and in the best of them the quality of, what Jalal-ud-Din Rumi calls, "the inspired speech". Paramanand's poetry has pre-eminently the quality of ecstasy of those who "break through to the Oneness", the Ultimate Ground of all Existence, and to whom the multitudinous show of the world and life is phenomena by which the One Essence is made manifest. He is, like all true mystics, irrepressibly happy and divinely drunk.

This note of ecstasy was something new to Kashmiri poetry, (not to Sanskrit mystics of Kashmir like Utpala), which till about the middle of the nineteenth century is characterized by little abandon of joy, sensuous or supernal, and little gaiety of tone. Not only the sacred but also the secular verse introduced by Haba Khatoon in the sixteenth century is largely plaintive and sad, expressing the pain and torture of a helpless masochistic lover, often a woman. Paramanand and his school represent what may be called, the *lila* group of poets. For them the universe exists : it is real and it is good. Indeed all creation is a manifestation, an overflowing of God's joy, a *Lila*, a *Nataraja* dance. No believers in asceticism and aloofness from the world, these poets stress the inward experience rather than outward formalism of ritual and religious practices and prefer *bhoga* to *tyaga*, enjoyment to renunciation, in the Kashmiri *Trika* Saivite tradition.

rāsamanḍalis cath premuk mas
sāsabaza macagamaca nacanas
akh-akis athavāsa lāyaṅ-āsa nādā
Rādhā Rādhā Rādhā Rādhā-Krishnajī...
yiy gav bakhtibāvanā yūg jñān
pānamyāni neshI-cay karith tiy mān
athI dopuk vyothanas maṅz samādā
rās gav yeti sami rasasamadur

ras gav yeti cami cok ta modur
rās gav zi rūdmut āsina aparādā

In the ring of dance, drunk with the wine of love,
thousands of them mad on dance and play,
hand in hand interlocked, shouted they :
"Radha, Radha, Radha, Radhakrishnaji.
Our dance is bhakti, yoga and jnana ;
it is verily a samadhi in wakeful activity.
Where love's expanse broadens into an ocean,
Where sour and sweet are equally welcome,
and where there is no trace of sin—
there, O my soul, is *raas*, our *lila*-dance.

Or

aras maṅz acavay
vigine zan nacavay...
lajhas tani tanay
shahlekh hanihanay
kamav premav hacavay
vanas maṅz nanavare
chārān Krishnapyāre
kanev tāpav tacavay
pāmpur shamahas path
taran kyāh chuh karan gath
matis path kar macavay...

Come, let us join the ring
and dance like fairies.
The maidens ardently in love
locked him in a close embrace,
and in every limb felt refreshed and cool.
They went forth, barefoot, to the woods
to meet their Lord and Love, undeterred by
the hot sun above and heated stones beneath.
The moth round the candle-flame
goes wheeling by and burns itself,
so danced they all, spell-bound,
their sportive Love around.

Or,

ākāshi sirIyi prakāsh non drāv
gāsh āv vonI, Krishna, darshun hāv...
gul pholI bāgan ta hi vananay
dūrapholi myānī goynā kananay
lolāsatI bolanas chi bulbul ta kāv...
vela vot amreta varshanakuy
Paramānaṅda-ne varshanakuy
LakhImano lolace dāri mucarāv

'Open the windows of love', says the poet ; and that sets the key for the *lila* lyric ; but no translation can quite catch the dancing rhythm or music of the original. In music and a whole-hearted abandon and gaiety, the *lila*-lyrics of Paramanand were surpassed by those of his successor, Krishna Razdan of poh; but no one has surpassed him in combining these qualities with depth of meaning and passionate intensity. Here is a *lila*-lyric characteristic of him at his best :

kāsi yamabayi con preyan ta lo lo
zyon marun yun gachun chu bram ta lo lo
netinem yuszi zaranas lagi bazhat canI
manatoragas heki ratith vagi bakhat canI
anubav bavi anugreh āgam ta lo lo
patalārnas ashṭaseda syod, vuchakh na zāh
āsi sārinay su gomut prod vuchekh na zāh
tas ven yus chu sārinay thod vuchakh na zāh
shānt yīkāṅt prāvi sham dam ta lo lo

keṅh na rozes na zānun azānun tas
svād-asvāda nishi kenchā na syon ta non tas
keṅhna khaṭanas lāyakh na non vanun tas
sokh-dokh kyā ath dopuk sam ta lo lo

dizi dīhas nazi pazi amretaphal
dis pratakh prathamay dapus mrataphal
kān neri kyā nerinay kānayphal
mokhta palazyā tarIzes na tram ta lo lo

gāl hanhan kāluk trās mashrāv
zāl mara-mara sor vasvās mashrāv

varna-āshramakrath sanIyās māshrāv
būd ponanuy chu sūd sūham ta lo lo

vīd shāstar porān yac pārI pārI
karam karina abimāna sāc kārI kārI
māni yus bozi būzI-būzI shroc pārI parI
tar chana tas tāra tāri OM ta lo lo

kathakarnas ta maranas chuna hishar
māniboznas ta paranas chuna hishar
dyān sornas ta sharanas chuna hishar
cami tas yas vani chana cam ta lo lo

yeli tele andrimi loluk sreh
teli mele pānashyū lūkasreh
kheli aṅtar-bāhar buka-buka sreh
chuna parvāy geli ālam ta lo lo

Paramānaṇda parma-ānaṅd prāvith
sāṅg lāg navī navirakI jaṅda prāvith
nāvI tar atha choniruk caṅda prāvith
rūzena kuni nazi dizi tam ta lo lo

Thy love casts out all fear of death, and makes
us see the truth about our life, the round
of earthly incarnations, the illusive chain
that binds us to the wheel of time, the ever-
recurring cycle of our coming and going,
our birth and dying.
Thy love doth give one-pointedness and true
direction to our wayward wills, desires, thoughts—
the restless curvettings and champings of our mind.
So may we break the untamed horse to the rein,
and ride it on to our goal.
Thy Grace vouchsafes us the Vision Splendid,
when Truth becomes an overpowering knowledge,
integral to our being, a direct perception
that cannot be denied, and sets all doubt at rest.
The Eight *Sidhis* are his for the asking,
but bent on seeing none other than Thee,
Thy devotee looks on them with an indifferent eye.
Knowing their worth, what cares he for them ?

He would not rest content with aught
but the Most High, the All-Perfect. So he attains
to the unitive life, and all his sense and mind
conflicts resolved, he goes to Peace,
that passeth all understanding.

He knows all : there's nought for him to know,
nor aught unknown to him ; nothing to hide,
nor aught to speak. No sour or sweet for him,
no pleasure nor pain. He hath attained to equipoise.

Wouldst thou this bissful state of being desire,
trust not thy mortal flesh as thine immortal dower.
It needs discipline hard, it must be told :
"Mortal art thou and thy portion is death."
Thou canst not find the precious mine until
the harsh steel strike the rock and emit fire,
until thou diggest unceasingly and deep.
Know that thou canst not string the precious pearl
until each single bead is bored.

Slay thy petty self and cast away the fear
of death and mundane cares. Renounce all codes
prescribed, all ritual and rules of *Varnashrama*,
of caste and creed. Then know thyself : therein
thy profit lies. Realize in thought and word
and deed that thou art That.

Thou mayest read the *Vedas* and *Puranas* all :
but get at the truth of all thou dost read and hear,
and do thine allotted tasks; yet cling not to thine ego ;
say not, " 'Tis I do this, 'tis I do that".
So shall the Lord take up thy works and lead
thee swift and sure across the shoreless sea
of ignorance, dark and deep.

Words are not deeds ; nor wilt thou live in God
if thou recit'st the scripture texts by day and night,
Give up thine ego and attachments all,

Nor be content with the learned lore of holy books.
Realize the truth as part of thy being :
Mere meditation will not lead thee far.
Surrender thyself to Lord, and thine
ego renounce. There is no other way.

Once awaked, love cannot be confined within,
but must ooze out and fret to find itself
without, its correspondence in the love of man
and nature, which it shall everywhere find.
Then love within shall flow without,
and gushing and gurgling in a whirling of joy,
the bubbling founts of love shall dance and play,
Exalted thus and united with love of all,
what cares Thy devotee how the world regards
him or what it says ? He is indifferent
to all its praise and blame.

Having attained to the Supreme Bliss, O Paramanand,
disdain not to walk the lowly ways of life ;
but act thy parts on the earthly stage,
and don whatever robes will suit the various parts
that thou must play, intent on spiritual good
not worldly gain ; in non-possession rich,
and this thy means to sail across the sea
of shoals and storms. Rest not nor stay behind
e'en for a breathing spell. Strive on to reach thy Goal.

VI

Paramanand's contribution to Kashmiri Poetry, however, consists not in his shorter poems but his three longer poems, *Radha Svyamvara*, *Sudama Charitra* and *Śiva Lagan*. Of these three *Radha Svyamvara* is the most musical, it has abandon and gaiety ; and containing about 30 songs, it is very nearly related in its tone and treatment to *lila*-lyrics. Indeed, it is a lyrical narrative ; the poet finds it difficult to suppress his own intense emotional reaction while describing the *lila* of Radha-Krishna and cannot but burst into song. Very few of the 30 songs are a part of the narrative like *Aras manz, Radha-Radhu-Radha Radhakrishanji* or *gaiyan kado Prabhu nyari a-re.* The argument that this poem is later than *Sudam Charitra* is unconvincing. The casual allusion to Sudama's reception by Krishna in lines quoted by Pandit Zinda Kaul viz.,

> būzith yi Rādhāyi gara ās nivāna
> Sodamas-zan Bhagavāno

is a very common simile and nothing more. The internal evidence of style, mood and treatment relates it to an earlier period, to a time of comparative buoyancy of youth. *Sudama Charitra* is more mature, more objective in its treatment ; it has only two songs which, in their subject-matter, are intimately connected with the narrative ; and what is more, it has restraint, the poet is master of his emotion ; there is economy of language and the allegory is more organic ; the poet feels less often the need of drawing out in his own comments or songs the spiritual truth of the allegory from the incidents of the narrative. But there is irrefutable internal evidence to show that *Siva Lagan* is a later composition for, says the poet in *Radha Svyamvara*, that he will relate how Siva cured Devi of her pride and how Sati voluntarily leaps into fire :

> tiy vani Paramanand yiy chu vanāna
> Shiv Divīyi kāsi abimāno
> kath bad che Satī gath kyā che karāna

Siva Lagan is less musical than both these poems, it experiments with a more difficult and unusual rhyme ; but it is not quite fair to say that it "has only a language interest for the reader". On the contrary I believe that it leads naturally to the fourth group of the poet's shorter poems in which the language is more akin to the language of this poem : it is terse and elliptical, and the meaning weighs down the music.

Each of the three narrative poems, however, has the unity of a great mystical idea, the love of God for man and of man for God. The allegory in each of them controls the various incidents and gives them a structural unity. *Radhasvyamvara* tells us of Radha's choice of her spouse, Krishna.

Radhā vananac kāṅkhyā me āsāna
tiy dorlab kar me āsāno
yathāvath yuth āsaha vanāna

The poet sets himself the difficult aim of telling faithfully, "*yathavath*", the story. He describes the early childhood of Radha, her pranks and gambols with other Gopis and her love for Krishna and Krishna's love for her, and the celebration of the marriage—all these are told with a sense of delight in the telling, and there are faithful pictures of rural households and communities. The conclusion of the poem is, as the conclusion of a story, not as effective as that of the other two poems : other incidents like that of Rukmani are brought in at the end which distract the mind somewhat from the main theme.

Sudama Charitra opens impressively with

gaṭi-maṅza gāsh āv cāne zenay
jai jai jai Devakīnandanay

From out of darkness came forth light when Thou
wast born. Hail, hail, O Devaki's Joy, all hail !

followed by a sonorous beadroll of God's attributes (already quoted), and moves on to describe the various significant events of the life of Krishna, the episode of what may aptly be called, 'Krishnavtarlila', the story of Sudama being told at length and taking about one and a half times more space than all other episodes together. This episode is remarkable in its form and execution : from the very first line

Sodām jīv os yār Bhagawānas

till about the very end—

Sodām rāza bov panānis nagras—

there is not a superfluous line, the verse moves unhindered and even, and we share the sorrow, hope and joy of Sudama without being weighted down with the allegory. The allegory is there no doubt but unobtrusively, and it enriches rather than takes from the interest of the story. The conflict in the mind of Sudama, his doubt, hesitation and shyness are all subtly revealed ; and the poem moves on to a crisis which is resolved in a denouncement. Its diction is smooth and simple but sinewy.

Siva Lagan tells the story of the self-immolation of Sati, her rebirth as the daughter of the King Himalaya and her marriage with Siva. As in *Akanandun*, there is a folk legend behind the poem ; and both Prakash Ram, the author of Kashmiri *Ramayana*, Paramanand's predecessor, and Krishna Razdan, his successor, have written long narrative poems on this theme. There is a comic element in all these *Siva Lagan* poems in the descriptions of the Purohit go-between and the first appearance of Siva as the bridegroom; but while it is a burlesque bordering on vulgarity in the other versions, Paramanand has treated the incidents with a gentle irony.

yitha-titha paka byākh yūzanā
đeva meli đakhinā ta būzzanā[3]

and

char āsh heth su var bazanas
logmut paznas ta lazanas
pulahor parith dava-dava[4]

and, again,

prārun pazihī kyunñckāl
vuni chiy phaṭanay goñcavāl
bujaras yuth sāṅg chuy kava[5]

The poem has, besides, a few fine descriptive touches. For instance :

tati chuy shīshikhāna shīsharas……
tambalyomut tatīthay bahār
rambavun su ḍīshith zambavār
soṭhka larinay tati mokhtadyon……

I read a deeper nuance of allegory in the poem : Siva would not be known except through Parvati : unless Shakti manifested Siva, He would remain unknown. This idea has been poetized in a popular but deeply significant devotional Sanskrit poem, *Panchastavi* ;

अज्ञात संभवमऽनाकलितान्ववायं ।
भिक्षं कपालिनमऽवाससमद्वतीयम ।।
पूर्वं करग्रहण मङ्गलतो भवत्या :
शम्मुं क एव बुबुधे गिरिराज कन्ये ।।

VII

Paramanand's contribution to Kashmiri poetry can be fully estimated only if we understand his use of symbol and allegory in his poems, notably in the three longer poems. A mystic has to speak in symbol and allegory, for he cannot speak of his experiences nor interpret them without images if, in the words of Paramanand, he has to convey his meaning to others so that they may understand and, what is more, recognize the truth of it and believe.

pananī kath vananī
parzanan parzanīnī
shrapavanI ta vepavanī

In his shorter poems Paramanand does not choose his symbols arbitrarily to represent the other meaning nor does the use objects which tradition has already invested with a symbolic meaning, as *saki* and *jam*; rose and cross; or lotus and serpent. On the contrary, he took common things, objects of daily use in farming or familiar events of a farmer's life, and made of them a natural symbol, giving them a significance which, by their very nature so to say, they could bear ; and so we find discrimination becomes a ploughshare; field of action, a farm; spiritual sadhana, ploughing the farm; and well-known stages of pilgrimage stand for stages in yoga. "This is the skill, and doubtless the Holy Scripture intends thus much," says George Herbert, "when it condescends to the naming of a plough, a hatchet, a bushell, leaven, boys piping and dancing; shewing that things of ordinary use are not only to serve in the way of drudgery, but to be washed and cleansed, and serve for lights even of Heavenly Truths".

In his longer poems, generally speaking, the narrative is the thing ; it moves on from episode to episode, filling in descriptive touches and scattering a wealth of phrase and imagery ; and then suddenly there is a little word, often a metaphor, even a pun, sometimes a verse of comment, and the cosmic significance comes with the force of a revelation. This is almost everywhere in these poems and I need only refer, as an instance to the episode where, in *Radha Svyamvara*, the poet describes the stealing of Gopis' clothes at the Jumuna Ghat by the child Krishna and to get them back they have to stand naked before him. For, to come to the Lord, says the poet, one has to renounce all honour and egoism and sense of shame, and to be free from doubt and fear : Every spiritual aspirant knows that he has to stand naked before his God.

hāth jūrith āsi vothadani rozāna
tāthkāl trāvi mān-abimāno
bāth kyā zi rovmut āsi-na labāna......
nethananiran khani kari tima punIpāna
naner timan yac volasāno
aner cali yeli pān āsi hāvana

Or, in *Siva Lagan*, the holy men who came to Sati to dissuade her from marrying Siva and, having tested her constancy, say what seems to be the usual thing to say on this occasion : "We grant that you desire Him and He too desires you and we know that this mutual love of yours is not anything new but a very old urge between you two. Though you are away from each other, in your heart of hearts you are very near." But it illumines a great mystic truth.

yachanas ca tas ta tas ti cānI vīr
azicī na yi ċhe prāni-pranI zīr
dūri rūzith neri-nyūr chiva

In *Sudama Charitra* the poet narrates how the Gopa women came running after the child Krishna complaining—"He breaks my milk-pots, and mine, and mine," said they—and his mother

Yashoda, feeling mortified at these complaints, runs after him with a cow's halter in her hand to bind him with. The child eluded her every time, and even in the confined limits of a compound, she could not get at him ; and when she was tired and gave up the chase, the son was moved to pity (as God is towards his *bhaktas*), and he surrendered himself to be caught. The parenthetic analogy by the poet at once illumines the episode with a mystic meaning : God steals the milk of *bhakti* for his hunger is insatiable ; Baddhi tries to bind and delimit God but learning cannot help her even to form an image of Him and, even though He is within her own heart, she cannot catch Him. But before a *bhakta* God surrenders Himself. All this the poet does not say but there it is in a flash in that parenthetic hint.

bodabror dodacūr drāv khokhaje
gūrIbāyi coparI lārani laje
meti meti meti kyā chu bana phutaranay
Yashudāyi dop yi chum dashiravanay
lūkabāyan nishi mandachāvanay
yaḍabaḍisay cham na yad yīvanay
dod cheth calane lajāv Yashudāye
lārān tas pata thāṛān drāye
athi heth gudom athIzi ganḍanay
mūratgar yas na mūrat gaṅḍe
tas mani yas chana dūrat gaṅde
Jnān dyān gaṅḍanas chuna poshanay
tas balavīras pata pata dorān
chala chala calanay bala āyi sorān
hatabadI atagath manz āṅganay
maj yeli thac ār āv santānas
yuth bhaktan huṅd yivān Bhagavānas
raṭnas panI-pāna dith rūd tanay

Sometimes it is a single word that invests a whole passage with supernatural significance as when he says : Sudama *jīva* (which can pass for Kashmiri *ju*) was the friend of the Lord in his 'angel infancy'; they were inseparable and there was no difference between them :

Sodāmjīv os yār Bhagavānas
bālabāv kyā ta lokacār Bhagavānas
kunī pānavanI don nazi benay

or, in a very melodious and ecstatic verse in *Radhasvyamvara*—

vrac myāni gūpiyi cyay pata lārāna
bansarīnāda vāda matāno
nashrith hes ta hosh mashrith par ta pāna

Every movement of my mind
    is a Gopi running after Thee,
drawn, like mad, by the call
    of thy magic flute,
oblivious of all sense—objects and
    distinctions of mine and thine—

where the poet says that the call of flute is provoking (*vada*) and the human soul cannot disregard it. He knows the value of the human soul, for God is as much a lover of man as man is of God. Sudama had not yet come to the Palace at Dwarika but Krishna had already made preparations to receive him : "We expect Sudama today, and shouldn't that make us proud and happy?" he was saying to Rukmani.

vuni os vātanay Dvārikayi maṅdaro
sakhrith rūdmut Shāmaysondaro...
Krishnajū Rukmani karavun sacay
az yiyi Sodām chakhna thekanay

"For," says the poet, "shall we not say that the Lord Himself had drawn Sudama to Dwarika ?"

nata niv zora tor Bhagavānanay

And, how can faith fill a devotee's heart unless the Giver of all boons vouchsafes it ?

yiyi kati bakhtis mani maṅz bāv
diyi-nay dāta yas maṅgane drāv...
vuchisuy yas dapi achI mucarāv

VIII

This brings us to the last group of his shorter poems, the fruits of his life—life Sadhana, which "read like the meditations of a Jivanmukta". In them he has left far behind him the prescribed ritual and even the sadhanas; and his experiences are told with the conviction of siddhantas or self-existent truths, in a language which, under the stress of thought, becomes aphoristic, not always easy to interpret.

khārith prān tay carith raganay
shama dama nashimā yi vāv varzon[6]

apazay-mapazay che pazay mānanl
ajnen ta tajnen mā nanl gaye[7]

ṭoṭh tasven keṅh na zānun gavzi ṭoṭhyos day manas
anapīkhut prāvanāvem pūrna-ānaṅdamay manas[8]

yiy chukh ta tiy chukh chukh-na beyan vuchonuye
āchinhuṅd gāsh pāna achiv vuchūnaye
vuchun chu chonuy vuchivun gachi vuchonuye[9]

Of the style of this group of poems, and their rare mystic insight, the following poem may be taken as a good example :

gindunā chu zindamarun
sahzavccār karun

sahzas prav pache
sham ta dam nāv gache
panarost pān sorun*

dih ta man ta man ta bod ti chuna
ved red sed ti chuna
muh ta bram ta mad ti chuna

---

* Translation of the stanzas marked with asterisks may give some idea of what the poem is like, its quality of vision and inspired speech.

Vīdav chu vonmutuy
videv vani onmutuy
vedi nishi chyonmutuy
Shakht vonhas ta Shivay
zāv kas ta āvagavay
neshden shashravay

Satcedānaṅdamaye
vatith movi-moye
pravith yas na moye
mani day kāsavunuy
na asith āsavunuy
asith ti āsavunuy

Paramātma ta apar
dīshakāla ven ta sathgor
vurmut yemI carācar
pananī kath vananī
parzanan parzanīnī
shrapavanI ta vepavanī
buzith vārapathī
travith ṭaṭhI-aṭathī
pākhanḍī ta paṭhī
yeti soruy chu shrapān
tati mā pān vepān
tathI chi Bhgavān dapān
Shabdbrahm su ātmajnān
pūrnamay su cyaysān
mokht vaikonṭha vejnān
sirIyas mā che chāye
thod voth ami shāye
pāna, calanay ce grāye
yac gāṭa beyi gāṭay
travith phutaphātay
phuṭi kyā tī ba vāṭay
Bhagawān avināshi
avināsh akāshī
gaṭi asItan ta gāshī
tas rost yī ca zānakh

tī tī ţhor ca mānakh
rūcakh tī bayānakh
shaṅkāyi mani travith
yim yuth gay pravith
sīvith rūd savith
navdārI maṅdore
coparI man dore
layi tath tropare*
ceth sorunuy cedākāsh
sirIyi tati chuy soprakāsh
ast-voday chus na teth nāsh
premasreh vahavane
reh heyi hani-hane
ponI lagi tīlakane
vāra yeli vuchI-zi maṅdar
rūzI zina tathI aṅdar
aṅdavaṅd Shāmasoṅdar
vacha travith ta dāre
yor zāni tor lāre
tas ven kyā zi lāre

To seek unity with God is to venture forth
and hazard all, to experience death in life
and be re-born into the higher Self within.
Not by control of mind and senses but
renouncing self and ever intent, Thou wilt
come to the selfless Self by faith devout...
In the nine-windowed mansion of the body
the mind wanders free and turns its gaze
outward, now looking through this sense-window
now that, diverted by the multitudinous glory
of life without. Close these outlets fast
and shut it in, and turn its gaze inwards,

---

* Translation of the stanzas marked with asterisks may give some idea of what the poem is like, its quality of vision and inspired speech,

commune with the Self within, the subtle
all compassing *chit* which inhabits all that is,
and in which all things live and move. There shines
the self-effulgent Sun, in unborrowed light,
who rises not nor sets, eternal and undimmed.
Then love will blow to every corner of the self,
kindling a devouring fire in every fibre
of thy being, and with its keen flaming tongues
set all ablaze ; and, like oil feeding fire,
feed the flame of love wherever it glows.
The more it burns, the brighter glows the flame
and burns all selfhoods till nought is left but He.
This inmost Sanctum seen, shut not thyself
within, for God is everywhere without.
Throw open all sense-gates and let the mind go where
it will. It cannot go where God is not.

IX

I have already given illustrations enough to show that Paramanand's rhythm for didactic and narrative poems is as close to the rhythm, and even the syntax, of the living speech as it could be ; that he draws his unaffected diction and homely metaphors and similes from the common speech of the day and his symbols from the familiar occupations of the rural community around him ; and that his symbols are not personified abstractions or vague allegorical figures of vices and virtues but concrete objects and figures from the epics whom thousand of years have made familar to us and who, so to say, are a part of the race consciousness of the Hindus.

NOTES & REFERENCES

* We have been long separated from each other. How couldst Thou bear separation. O Darling, O Bliss Incarnate ? How long, O Lord, how long ? By then this body will have decayed.

I was a pure limped stream but frost bound me fast and turned me into icy avalanches. (Translation of the stanza of poem No. 1, above on page 170).

** I am growing old, my weak body can longer serve me ; and unless Thou leadest me by the hand, I shall totter helplessly. I have yet to climb the mountain and the day is about to wane and I cannot see my way, before or after me. Let not my day set so soon, O Lord ; and direct my feet on the path that leads to Thee. (Translation : Stanza numbered 2 above on page 170).

*** Who is a slave ? He who is attached to the world.
Who is free ? He who renounces attachment.
Slavery is one's own : Freedom is one's own.
Who are the enemies ? One's own *indriyas.*
Who are the friends ? Even they when one has conquered them.
Now they act as water and now as fire.
Who is poor ? He who has long desire.
Who is rich ? He who is contended.
Be contended and enter the abode of bliss.
What is the means to Godlines ?
Love of God, renouncing all formulae and ritual, restraint, contentment, right thought and company of good men. (Translation ! Stanza No. 2 below on page 170).

1. In abiding by the contract, of five parts to three,
there can be neither more nor less.
Wouldst thou bring under the plough thy fallow land—
for thy old lapses they will not take thee to task—
gird up thy loins, take up the plough and do not wait
for the offer of thy neighbours' help.

2. This line is not clear to me.—J.L.K.

3. "Let me walk a *yojana* farther. Perhaps I may somewhere get some money and a fine meal".

4. "Hoping against hope, the Purohit is bustling about (as if all this were due to him), very busy with what is to be done and given away, running here and there in his grass shoes."

5. "You ought to wait sometime more", they said [to Siva, seeing him as the bridegroom], "the hair on your lips has not yet appeared ! What do you mean by such foolery at your age ?" (Translation by Zinda Kaul).

6. "This tempest of distress cannot be allayed by *sharma* or *dama* or by the raising of the breath-energy to the head and straining the vessels and nerves." (Z.K.)
7. Though unreal, Maya has to be taken as real ; neither the wise nor the ignorant have known her in essence.
8. God's grace means nothing else but that man holds nothing dear but God. Desirelessness alone can fill mind with bliss.
9. Thou art what Thou art, not seen by others ; that which makes the eyes see is not seen by the eyes. All seeing is futile unless thou see'st the Seer.

CHAPTER 19

THE NIGHTINGALE OF KASHMIR (HABBA KHATOON–HER LIFE AND WORK)

S.N. Vakhlu

Her Life

After the death of Lal Ded, the great spiritual poetess of Kashmir, the Muse in Kashmir fell into a deep sleep for about two hundred years and with the birth of Habba Khatoon it woke up again fluttering and singing, not the mystical experiences or moral exhortations, but the lilting tunes of true romance. Was the time, when Habba Khatoon was born and grew, out of joint or was it happy and peaceful ?—is a question which involves a great historical controversy and we leave it to the scholars of history to resolve it. But there is no gain-saying the fact that, even now, the travellers hum Habba Khatoon's verses on the highway and her songs are sung by men roving upon rivers, by ladies at their looms and farmers in the fields.

Kashmiri poetry, unfortunately, existed largely in oral tradition upto 1930. Therefore, the lives of poets are mostly enveloped in the mists of the past. So is the case with

Habba Khatoon. However, the account of her life is based on the firm bed-rock of tradition and legend illumined by a few occasional historical flashes of men like Birbal Kachru, Hassan Kohiyami and Moh'd Din Foq. Much of it is left to conjecture. At the same time, her story is so "simple, straightforward, fair-seeming and probable" that we cannot but get irritated at anyone who casts doubt on her ever having existed.

Her life-story, like her poetry, is romantic and pathetic. Her life was full of vicissitudes with a tragic end. At a distance of eight miles from Srinagar, on the National Highway, is situated a large village called Pampore and two miles from it, in the south-east, is a sort of glen surrounded by picturesque plateau of saffron fields and here in this glen is a beautiful hamlet. Far away stand the magnificent mountains and the effect of the whole scenery is alluring and inspiring. In this small village lived a well-to-do zamindar, named Abdul Rathar, in whose house Habba Khatoon was born. She was sent to a Mulla's *maktab*, where she learnt the holy Quran and smattering of Persian. The girl grew up into a highly intelligent, sweet-throated and beautiful damsel. It is said that people from far and near came to see her. Her father, as was wont then, hurriedly married her to a peasant boy, who was dull and illiterate. The boy's name was Aziz Rathar.

Her mother-in-law ill-treated and nagged her and her husband could not appreciate her gift of song and poetry. He got weary of her and hated her, for he did not find her helpful in the fields and attending properly to the house-hold drudgery. She felt unhappy and full of ennui and found escape from the onslaughts of her mother-in-law's and husband's tempers in her songs. Out of this suffering grew up wistful longing and pathetic strain, which is predominantly present in all her poetry. Once, when utterly dejected, she went to Khwaja Masud, darvish type of a person with spiritual powers and related to him the tale of her woe and distress. He is said to have told her that her days of torture would soon end and she would become the queen of Kashmir. He changed her name "Zoon" and called her Habba Khatoon, by which name she is known today.

Habba Khatoon used to go to collect cow-dung, cress, dandelions and edibles with other village belles. On these occasions she used to lighten her own heart and regale her companions by singing verses composed by her on the spur of the moment.

It was a romantic evening and the moon had risen on the clear blue sky, bathing, with its silver light, the saffron fields. Habba Khatoon, drunk with the wine of her youth, was roaming about all alone and singing by herself a melancholic strain. She reached a bank and was bending over the sickle, digging out some dandelions. When she raised her head she saw a young man standing and listening to her song motionless and still. They looked at each other and fell for each other. The young man was no other than the heir-apparent of Kashmir Yusouf Shah Chak. She did not know him. Afterwards he got her divorced by Aziz Rathar and then married her.

There are some who believe that she was going to her parent's house, driven out by her mother-in-law, when she was seen by Yusouf Shah's men on the way. They carried her to the court, where Yusouf Shah kept her in his harem as a concubine.

There are others who say that she came from Dard family inhabiting a place beyond Gurez, "where Kashpat stream from Tibet valley meets the Kishen Ganga near Tsoorwan, which is associated with her name." But this story appears incredible for Kashmiri is not spoken in that area, while her songs are extant in simple and popular Kashmiri language.

Yusouf Shah had a passion for song and music and there were many musicians and singers present at his court. Habba Khatoon learnt the art of singing from them and herself contributed musical compositions of classical music, particulary the *Sufiana Kalam* or *Rast-i-Kashmiri*. But this joyful life of hers soon came to an end. The great Mughul King, Akbar sent an army under Mirza Khan and "by subterfuge and deceit", defeated Kashmiri army and captured Yusouf

Shah. He was taken to Bengal, where he was kept under arrest and never allowed to return to Kashmir.

For Habba Khatoon this shock was unbearable and it unhinged her. She left the royal palace, donned the clothes of a mendicant and renounced the world. She made a small hermitage at Panda Chok on the bank of the river Jhelum. She poured forth her wailings in her songs. After twenty years she died in frustration and was buried near her cottage.

Her Work

Habba Khatoon, as a queen, has absolutely no significance. She is known and loved for her poems. We acknowledge that she was one of the sweetest and the most spontaneous singers of the Kashmiri language. She wrote lyrics which can be regarded as great gems in Kashmiri literature and therein her genius exults. Her poems possess all the essential elements that go to make a true lyric—intense and vivid passion, exquisite verbal melody and spontaneity of utterance. They have such careless ease and abandon, such indefinable and bewitching sweetness about them that they send a strange, yet delightful, thrill through us. She is the forerunner of realism and romanticism in Kashmir.

She appeared on the scene when poets were expected to sing the love of God, but she sang of human love. Upto her time the Kashmiri poetry was mainly concerned about divinity and was surcharged with mysticism. She brought fresh air into it when she sang of mundane earthly love. This love was the root and basis of her nature. She does not treat of love as a transcendental passion or as a mystic mingling of sense and spirit nor is she engrossed in universal, abstract and ideal love. She sings of her personal substantive love. She plays the part of a lover and her entire attitude is that of a devotee. In some poems she wails for long waiting, in some she expresses the anguish of separation and in other's the expectation and elation of her beloveds visit. In some of the songs she flings accusations at him for being inconstant or indifferent. These songs have directness, simplicity and a tender poignancy of feeling.

Though, in her poetry, there is sometimes found a sprinkling of sensous gaiety, yet we don't find any portrayal or discription of sexual emotion or improvising sentimental conceits around the sensuous themes. Hassan, the historian, says that Yusouf Shah Chak, in the company of his beautiful wife, Habba Khatoon enjoyed his days and nights in picturesque meadows, pleasure gardens and delightful spots, like Gulmarg, Sonamarg, Ahribal and Achabal. Infact, the luxury and joyful life of Yusouf Shah has become proverbial. In none of her verses we find the expression of this joyful life, gaiety of her heart and the golden days. In them we do find romanticism, but no voluptuous irresponsibility emanates from her lines. Even though she had gone from the log cabin to the white house in her balmy period, yet, absolutely, no *joi de vivre* peeps through her songs. A veil of feminine reserve and possibly piety (for she had received religious education and Kashmir was then soaked with mysticism) interposes between her heart and words.

She is only obsessed with one idea and one subject that is, devotion to her lover and indifference, if not infidelity, on his part. She lends herself to the emotions of the joylessness of life. Her own early failure in marriage and then her love story proved a significant factor in her emotional experience and in her poetry. Hence, in her poems she enshrined her own hate and love and the influence of that powerful emotion was so great that unmindful of anything she gave it an unreserved expression in her poems. Even as a queen, she seems to be haunted by a fear that Yusouf Shah may forsake her at any time, particularly when her Rose of Youth would fade and fall. She must have seen in his harem many competitive maids. Hence, only plaintive numbers flow from her and these echo her own grief. Her poems are full of pain and sorrow, frustration and longing, desperation and disillusionment. The note of despondency, found in her poems heighten their beauty and stirs the tenderest chords of the human heart. Her constant pre-occupation with her sordid life and poetry full of pathos do not depress or sweep us off our feet, for she does not cynically cry. In her lyrics, full of pain, we discern an undercurrent of world-weariness and feel that the problem of evil and suffering is universal. We are conscious of the idea,

> "Where Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
> Or new Love pine at them beyond tomorrow."

She keeps her intense emotions under control and does not produce lyrical outbursts. On the other hand, her simplicity, softness and music console us.

No poems, barring those of Habba Khatoon or Arnimal, of a woman's passion or love from the feminine standpoint is found in our literature. Kashmiri ladies, therefore, find in her poems, an eloquent exposition of the woman's point of view. Her desolate wails make them share her despair :

> "But misery still delight to trace
> Its semblance in another's case".

Therefore, miserable women, downtrodden by callous men and persecuted by the mothers-in-law, feel consoled and their sorrowful feelings get purged after singing her verses in their calm and lonely moments. Her individual and personal longing and desire is the desire of every woman. Thus, she universalises her personal desire and interest. On reading her verses, like Keats' *Nightingale*, the individual woman (here the poetess herself) fades out and the type, a universal woman, comes to the foreground. Habba Khatoon, through her poems, symbolises lonely, suppressed womanhood with a great passion and intensity.

In vain, we try to find anything deep or spiritual in her poems. She has no doctrine or philosophy to offer. She lacks the knowledge of the different phases of life. The inner life of which we catch a glimpse from her poems, is that of a proud, passionate yet pure soul which is soaked in earthly love. It is possible that after her husband's banishment she must have become meditative and more mature, for before the order of her arrest could be served on her, she had left the palaces and became a wandering minsteral. From earthly love, it is probable she must have turned to spiritual and divine love.

She must have sung songs of great depth and devotion which seem to have been lost to posterity.

Habba Khatoon seems to have fled from the socio-political world into an enchanted realm of her own, jealously closed against the intrusion of social and political affairs, even though she was a queen for sometime. There was feudalism prevailling in Kashmir as elsewhere in India and fuedal system has its own vices. Feudal lords have always been interested in profit-hunting and exploiting the poor classes. In none of Habba Khatoon's poems we catch a glimpse of the miserable plight of the people. We can't peep through her poems into the political, economical and other conditions of the State. We only know that the economic condition of her parents was quite good. They were affluent nobles and she was brought up on milk and honey at her parental home.

The beauty of her poems is rather a matter of feeling than analysis. Her poems can be easily sung or set to music. She uses ordinary but felicitious words, wherein sound echoes the sense. She did not work on her verses but exhaled them as a flower exhales fragrance. Rhythm came as naturally to her as breathing. No influences can be traced in her poems. Wherefrom she learnt the technique or who taught her the prosody, is an enigma. She seems to weave rhyms and rhythms with an instinctive case. Her emages are ' the growth of the common soil as the grass and the rushes." Damsel "shedding tears of blood from almond—like eyes", "maid not having a wink of sleep" or "opening the doors at midnight for her lover" and "for his priceless wealth of love she lingers and longs," are images of exquisite beauty.

Her dealing only with single theme and constantly conveying to us the deep anguish of her soul would have brought into her work a monotonous note but it does not chiefly because of the simplicity of language and the "music that gentlier on the spirit lies". We feel in it "the freshness of flowers, which once breathed, will haunt the memory of of the reader" and so she well deserves a place on the heights of Parnasses. The following three poems translated by me from her original Kashmiri ones will testify it.

Her Poems

I

PRAY COME MY LOVELY LOVE, OH COME

(*Valo Miaani Poohe Madno*)

Stole thou my heart and forsook me at last ;
Pray come my lovely love, oh, come !

Come friend, let us go gathering jessamines,
For once the lamp is out, lit nomore can be
For his priceless wealth or love, I linger and long.
Pray come my lovely love, oh come !

Come friend, let us to collecting cress,
Mystery of fate none can unravel ;
Sly senseless people slander and defame me.
Pray come my lovely love, oh come !

Let us to picking and plucking mellow myrtles ;
Hurt he hath me with his love's hatchet ;
Then sent none to ask and enquire after.
Pray come my lovely love, oh come !

Come friend, let us do dig dandelions ;
People pull faces, mock and call me names ;
May they too suffer and sorrow like me
Pray come my lovely love, oh come !

Come friend, to woods we hurry
People poisoned have his mind and ears ;
The simpleton so believed and blames me
Pray come my lovely love, oh come !

Let us now go down the hill,
The gold of my cars, I'll present to him.

My gift is precious and presentable.
Pray come my lovely love, oh come !

Come friend, fetch water we may;
Drowsing and dreaming world may lay.
Watching and waiting I am for his sweet say.
Pray come my lovely love, oh come !

Leave of thy scorn and hate for me ;
I long and crave but for thee ;
Life is short and fleeting thou see.
Pray come my lovely love, oh come !

(*Tr. by S.N.V.*)

II

OH, WHY DOST THOU DESPISE ME !

(*Toe Kiho gai muni dahi*)

What my rival hath ravished thee
That thou hast turned away from me ;
Dost thou not loving like to be.
Oh, why dost thou despise me !

At midnight I ope the doors for thee ;
Ah ! would thou for a moment come to me ?
Forsaken am I, though one we be.
Oh, why dost thou despise me !

My love, in the fire of thy love I burn ;
I but desire and dream of ye ;
Shed I tears of blood from almond like eyes.
Oh, why dost thou despise me !

Pining and melting am I like snow in summer,
Though blooming blossom of jessamine am I;

Thine the garden and thou enjoy it.
Oh, why dost thou despise me !

Wink of sleep have I not, indifferent art thou ;
That is the sorrow and grief of my heart ;
My heart's pain thou alone can soothe.
Oh, why dost thou despise me !

Bathe I and bridal dress I wear ;
I swear to welcome and greet but thee.
But you spurn and go away from me.
Oh, why dost thou despise me !

Drop by drop shed I the tears ;
I the miserable pine and crave for thee ;
Why forget the path that leads to me ?
Oh, why dost thou despise me !

—(*Tr. by S.N.V.*)

III

FOR PLAY I LEFT

(*Gindnay Draayio*)

Left I for play and stayed away
Ah me ! the sun hath set.

Behind the curtains I stayed at home ;
The moment I stepped out my fame spread;
People ran to catch a glimpse of mine ;
The very sages came out from meditation.
Ah me ! the sun hath set.

With wares full was my shop,
Poeple came to peep and pop ;
But when I lost my treasures,
Lost I my value too.
Ah me ! the sun hath set.

My parents were nobles great,
Thus known came I Habba Khatoon ;
Many a gallants poured love to me.
Ah me ! the set sun hath set.

(*Tr. by S.N.V.*)

CHAPTER 20

MAHJOOR : HIS AGE AND POETRY

G.N. Firaq

Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor was born in 1885 at Mitragam village in the middle of snow-capped mountains, sinuous rills and shady trees. At the time of his birth Kashmir was groaning under the age-old feudal rule unsympathetic towards the people. In the same picturesque village when Mahjoor passed away on April 9, 1952 the local government mourned his loss in a befitting manner. Mahjoor spent his childhood in the countryside. No doubt, later as a "Shajra Kash" in which capacity he was posted at Hajan Kashmir in 1916, and as a Patwari he saw other parts of the valley also which include the narrow and dirty lanes of Srinagar. He visited the undivided Punjab also where he met some important literary personalities including Bismil.

In his very childhood Mahjoor found himself of a literary turn and wrote verses in Persian and Urdu. These were the languages in which he was imparted education. He had therefore an opportunity to study the literature particularly of these two languages. With the passage of time he felt some urge within him to write verses not in Persian and Urdu, but in his mother tongue : Kashmiri. This urge was partly brought in him by his visit to the Punjab, and partly, by his reading public at home, particularly people of rural areas who could only be approached through their mother tongue. Thus in late twenties he finally decided to write in the language which was spoken by the people of his soil.

In the history of nations every period is epoch-making. Nevertheless, there comes a period in its life which becomes very important for the vital changes it brings into being. Mahjoor lived in one such period. It was the period in which Indians awakened enmasse, got organised and made foreigners feel that they were capable of governing themselves. Kashmir could not but feel the impact of this awakening. Here also new forces came into being and shook Kashmir terribly. The great uprising of 1931 was a part of it. So Mahjoor found around himself hopeful, revolutionary and optimistic people risen to change their destiny. The enthusiasm of the people thrilled Mahjoor with new hopes who, in its turn, became their mouthpiece and gave a form to the mute feelings in this way :

> O Nightingale !
> Thou are crying from within the cage,
> None is here to set thee free,
> Muster courage
> Solve your difficulties yourself.

This verse and the poem to a Gardener, from which it has been taken, became the favourite poem of the people who, while singing it in public meetings, marched forward to reshape their future. This optimistic movement brought benign and life-invigorating change in almost all walks of life. Mahjoor associated himself closely with this movement. On the one hand he showed the mirror of past grandeur to it and, on the other, so that it leaps onwards, he raised the light house of new hopes. He wrote some poems of patriotic nature in one of which he, blamed of course gently, Rasul Mir, whose lineal successor he considered himself, to be, for praising the beauty of Gandhara and not Chandhara, a village near Pampore where Haba Khatoon, a famous literary personage and wife of the last ruler of Kashmir Yusouf Shah Chak had taken refuge. Most of these poems were recited and sung by people with delight. Among other things they laid stress on communal harmony, patriotism, social justice and peasant reform. Such verses were not written in Kashmiri before. Though they lack poetry, yet their diction is new due to which quality they look appealing. In some of these poems Kashmir countryside in its spring comes to life, a fact which most of his predecessers had never taken note of. In some of these poems we learn something about the aesthetic taste of the poet. However Mahjoor did not feel satisfied in versifying political slogans alone and did not like to entangle himself always in problems of political nature. Basically a poet of love as he is, of which he sings confidently, Mahjoor likes to strike a new note in this field. His visions in this respect are iridescent. The result is his lyrical poetry which he had written in the beginning also. There is, however, a marked difference in the diction of earlier love lyrics and those which he wrote later. The language of later lyrics is sweet, pure and simple and very near to the spoken language. These are without doubt the valuable contributions to the language.

Mahjoor leaves upon Kashmiri poetry impressions of far-reaching consequences. After a long time he gives new life and temperament to it. It becomes once more the poetry of the people of this world. It is mundane and secular in spirit. It becomes, among other things which include explanation and criticism of life, the poetry of the valuable personal experience of the poet. What qualifies it more is its power to give pleasure to the reader. No doubt he makes use of conventional forms and, unlike modern poets, never likes to make experiments in this field, yet in many respects he makes these look modern by the new content and diction. As an artist he disliked experiments of new forms and showed always his readiness to write only in conventional forms. In 1950 he criticised modern young poets for writing free and blank-verse and for taking too much liberty with the language.

Mahjoor generally makes use of three forms : *Vachan*, *Ghazal* and *Kazam*. Vachan is a very popular form of a poem in Kashmiri, every stanza of which consists of four lines, the fourth line being always the refrain. In its lyricism it is very near to *ghazal* and *geet*. Ghazal was introduced in Kashmiri by Mahmood Gami and, among other poets, Mahjoor also wrote ghazals of intrinsic value. In case one wishes to find out best of Mahjoor, he should read his Vachans and Ghazals. Needless to say that they represent the essence of Mahjoor. Here he employs with ease unusual but known imagery to give expression to what he goes through. They are generally the record of his shared experiences communicated faithfully. These two forms were the medium of expression of the predecessors of Mahjoor as well. However, when Mahjoor made them his vehicle of expression, he finds them poor, weak and loose. After Rasul Mir, Shams Faqir and Wahab there were some poets who were following beaten tracks and creating nothing. The outstanding poets of the language were imitated unsuccessfully. As a result of this Kashmiri Vachan and Ghazal had lost their life. They were in need of a poet who could give these a new turn.

When judged against this background the importance of Mahjoor comes home to us. We feel about significance and the change which he brought in this field. The artistic capacities and variegated vision of Mahjoor gave once more new life to Kashmiri Vachan and Ghazal. They went into the hand of Mahjoor at a critical time, for he was more a believer in reform and less an adolescent revolutionary. He had besides an eye on Persian and Urdu Ghazal. As a result of it he did not turn his back against the tradition. It is a fact that in his formative years he followed Rasul Mir. He had also read at Hajan, a few months after the death of Wahab, a prolific poet, his unpublished Diwan somewhere in the second decade of this century. However, this formative period was very short. In the poetry of this period also we mark some originality and glimpses of mature Mahjoor. The language is simple and standard. It is the language spoken, not by the villagers, but by the people of a city. We find once again a change in their content which is not of less importance. Much was in it about fate, repeated problems of mystic nature, social injustice and physical features of love. By passing all this Mahjoor introduced something new here. It was, by and large, what his mind felt at particular memorable moments about love and life. The fact is that poetry of Mahjoor went either into his Ghazals or his Vachans.

In his mature years he wrote poems all of which are not a part of his creative poetry. Some of these have now only historical importance. They are, of course, versified slogans of contemporary politics and problem poems. These include the Song of the Peasant. To the Security Council. War Song, The Hoe, To the Labourer and New Kashm ir. However there are other poems also in which the poet has succeeded to preserve poetry. The Peasant Girl, The Freedom of 1947, Gulala, Sangarmalan are marked for their beauty and impression which they leave upon the reader. In them his language of a creative artist. The Freedom of 1947 is a powerful and biting satire on those who trampled down values and participated in the communal bloodshed. In the *Sangarmalan* he visualises new dawn, the harbinger of love amity and prosperity. What distinguishes it is the beauty of its imagery which is unique. The mistakes and selfishness of politicians are exposed ironically in *Gulala.* Prevailing evils are put in a question form to the tulip asked to answer if these evils also prevail in the world which he has come from. It is noted for its pathos and satire. In this field of Nazam, Mahjoor had no tradition behind him, worth mentioning. He has rather introduced it into Kashmiri literature for the first time in this way.

The poetry of Mahjoor makes it clear beyond doubt that he was the representative of the age in which he lived. Some of his poems were sung by the people on the political platform and all of them, when put together, represent the conflict of the age in which he lived. No Kashmiri poet has ever enjoyed in the life time the popularity as Mahjoor did. He was particular to see that his poems are sung by musicians all over the valley of Kashmir. To him the success of a poet depended upon the popularity which he enjoyed among the masses.

Lastly it looks proper to say something about the role which Mahjoor played in popularising Kashmiri language at a time when Urdu and English were the pet languages of the intellectuals and when the State Government felt no need to promote its development. In different literary meetings he laid emphasis on the usefulness of the language for the people who spoke it. He also published first Kashmiri weekly *The Gash* and took active part in the literary organization, Cultural Congress, which was formed in Kashmir immediately after the independence of 1947. We may differ with Mahjoor for the views which he held about poetry, but we read with delight most of the poems which he composed from time to time in Kashmiri language.

CHAPTER 21

MAHJOOR AS A POET

Rashid-ud-Din

The valley of Kashmir has given birth to hundreds of Kashmiri poets but Mahjoor shines brighter in the poetic fermanent of Kashmir. He was a revolutionary poet and has made the Kashmiris conscious of their work and value. His poetry is divided into three main parts. The poems and ghazals of the first few years of his poetic career known as Kalam-i-Mahjoor, of the middle years as the Payam-i-Mahjoor and the last part of his poetry is known as the Salam-i-Mahjoor.

Mahjoor generally gave birth to his feeling by Ghazals and Nazams. He has written Ghazals of instrinsic value. In case one wants to find out best of Mahjoor, he should read his ghazals. Needless to say that they represent the essence of Mahjoor. Here he employs with ease unusual, but known imagery, to give expression to what he goes through. They are generally the record of his shared experiences communicated faithfully. In that age there were some poets who were following beaten tracks and creating nothing. There was no poet who could give it a new turn. In this sphere Mahjoor comes home to us. His change in this sphere is clear. Mahjoor's variegated vision gave once more new life to Kashmiri ghazals. These ghazals were looked after by Mahjoor and one may safely say that he did not leave any stone unturned in reforming it. It may be said that he followed Rasul Mir. He not only did a lot a for poetry and Kashmiri language but served the nation in some other ways also as he laid the foundation of many schools and mosques. He laid the foundation of Higher Secondary School, Pulwama which now-a-days is known as the Mahjoor Memorial Govt. Higher-Secondary School, Pulwama.

His thought was greatly impressed by the philosophy of Iqbal. Mahjoor comes forward as an apostle, if not to his own age, then to posterity.

Mahjoor predicted twenty-two years ago and the foresaying about "Tarsar Marsar" and "Tosimydon" has been translated into action. The foresaying of Mahjoor can't oridinarily be ignored. The far off goal of Mahjoor on which his eyes are fixed is the freedom of Kashmiries from the exploitation and the tyranny of the then rulers. Mahjoor has played a great role in popularising the Kashmiri language, at the critical moment when it was overtaken by Urdu and English and also when State Government felt no need to promote its development. Some times he criticised those poets who were using free and blank verse, and were paying less attention towards the people's language. Mahjoor entered this poetic career when it was in real need of poet like him. He gave it a new turn-ghazals went in his hands at the critical time, for he was more a believer in reform and less an adolescent revolutionary. Mahjoor's attitude to poetry is understood from his more popular poems, '*The Peasent Girl*,' '*Of the Freedom of 1947*', '*Gulala*.' '*The Gash*' etc. *Gulala* is the only piece of poetry in which Mahjoor has discussed the selfishness and weakness of politicians. He was the sole man with such bold ideas in his age who has discussed these crucial questions. We have learned a lot from them. There is nowhere any doubt in his poetry. No doubt his poetry is at the tip of the tongue of the Kashmiries. His poems are sung from the political platforms also. No Kashmiri poet has ever enjoyed in his life time the popularity as Mahjoor did. He has taken an active part in the Cultural Congress which was held in Kashmir after the attaintment of Independence in 1947. Lastly it looks proper to acknowledge that in the present age also we read and enjoy his poems with the same interest which be composed from time to time in Kashmiri language, which he tries to enrich.

CHAPTER 22

AZAD—A REVOLUTIONARY POET OF KASHMIR

Syed Gh. Mohi-ud-Din Habib

Azad could be correctly called a revolutionary poet of Kashmir—the other was Mahjoor. Azad's poetry, when studied properly and in a systematic order, can give us many clues to his revolutionary bent of mind. He wanted an overall revolution in life and appealed for it again and again. He was in favour of overhauling the structure of life—social, economic and moral. Azad was deeply moved on seeing the existing economic order of the society and the age-old politically unjust, aristocratic social set-up which made life difficult and miserable for the common man. Azad wanted a changed society where all amenities are equally available to people. But to bring about such a change, the young poet had to make people glaringly conscious of the wretched and a slavish life they had been leading for centuries. Azad made them realise their poverty and the degraded life they lived over a long period of time. He said. "To serve and to submit is slavery and freedom is the great privilege. "One who understands life correctly and understands its true essence cannot live a slave's life," he said, but most unfortunately the people submitted and surrendered to this unjust system in which economic inequality and exploitation gross superstitions in the name of religion and a corrupt aristocracy which held this land in their grip since time immemorial.

The people who know the realities of life can never tolerate or surrender to this unjust order and cannot think of submitting to it. Those who are born free can never be slaves, Azad said.

زندہ گٔمہ زانہ وۄن زانھہ نہ کریا بندگی

(Those who know life cannot be slaves)

The outcome of a slave's life is evident—a wretched and an enslaved life, full of poverty, misery, humiliation and shame. Such a miserable life needs to be changed through a revolution.

What is life in itself ? It is a constant struggle against the evil of injustice, and unequality. Life, truly speaking, is a revolution against such order and a change for the better. It is to march onwards to prefection or completion. To withdraw and to retreat is digression and to march onwards is progress or life according to Azad. This is the philosophy of revolution of Azad in a nutshell and the message taught by him in different symbols is repeated in his poetry.

برونٛہہ پکن زندگی- پرٛد ژٕٹت دٕہ۔م-
شان خودایئی ننہ یود پردہ بنی برمہغم
پھٕر مہ پت نل ودم نیٚر ژٕٹت یمی حجاب
یہي چھہ ونان انقلاب اتھی چھہ ونان انقلاب

Life is to step onwards tearing off the veils.
Do not fear even if godhead itself becomes a veil.
Do not retreat, Go ahead tearing off these veils.
This is the teaching of revolution, this is revolution.

It is because of this disgust that Azad, while anatomizing the ills of society, turns into an athiest. But the fault does not lie with God, it is in society—man-made, which is responsible for all these social evils. Azad, in fact, did not turn an athiest in spirit but as he wanted an alround change in life, he cuts at the roots of such a degraded philosophy—practised by bourgeoisie and which made people fatalists with no guts for initiative and who merely waited for manna to fall from the heavens. The poor Kashmiris have been tutored to believe haphazardly and incorrectly in luck and fate. Destiny or Fate, if properly understood, does not mean that we have not to struggle for bringing about any change in life. Life can be changed and a better standard of living is only possible if we stop believing in ' waiting and setting for things without struggle and hardwork." We can improve our lot provided we try and strive for the better. The fatalistic philosophy, therefore, is not palatable to Azad.

The other conditions required for bringing about a change in life are to stop harbouring ill-will and enmity, the malicious thinking against each other, a tendency which needs to be replaced by love, affection, unity and uniformity which in their turn can lead us to a righteous and a noble life. Azad overemphasizes the need for unity, love and respect for one another. Life, therefore, needs to be lived anew because the world so far has been a battlefield of massacres and bloodshed, arson and looting and all these things are to be stopped and replaced by love and affection so that man learns to live like a man and not like a beast. Life with all its beauties has been a waste and can be regained only if an all-round revolution is started. It is possible only if we, with a strong determination and will-power, gird up our lions to overhaul life in its totality and get the wretched life of the down trodden changed. A new Spring shall dawn over the hills and valleys of the country and the garden will become beautiful and enchanting by the scented flowers of life if such a revolution takes place. Azad lists the beauties and the fruits that we shall reap. "The senseless will come to their senses, flowers will bloom in gardens, the mentally perturbed regain their mental poise. Those who upto now looked backward learn to look forward and an advancement shall dawn over the country. Those who hinder the way to progress and enlightenment will learn to go onwards. All disputes are solved, unity is regained and love and affection once again become the order of the day. The youth who continue to sleep undisturbed, shall be awakened by the ever-ringing tones of *Inqilab*."

The Revolution requires agents who can bring it about. It can change our life but is to be brought about ; and who are the agents and path blazers who do bring it about ? All people —young and old, men and women are to be called upon to unite and bring about the change, but the young Turks alone can be helpful in bringing about such a great change. Therefore Azad specially addressed the youth of the country—those who are awakened by his singing of the revolution, and those who still sleep are to be got up by the revolution when it engulfs the whole life.

وتھی نہ میانیو آلو، سیتی نندرہ ذیہہ کیہہ نوجوان
از یکاہ آخر تمن وزہ ناوہ پانے انقلاب۔

"Those who did not get up by my calling are awakened by Revolution itself".

Kashmir was under (the yoke of, slavery, economic disorder, social bondage and this resulted in discontent and poverty. To get these social, political and economic evils eradicated, Azad felt a need for some young heroes who could change the present lot of life.

Azad regards himself as one of the heroes who could voice the feelings of the people and make them realize their poor lot. Cruelty and coercion are to be done away with and a just life is to be regained through revolution.

Revolution is not wanted in our Country alone but all Countries should undergo a revolution according to Azad.

زندگی۔ کیا انقلابن ہنز کتاب۔ انقلاب، انقلاب، انقلاب

"What is life ? A book of revolutions
Revolution, Revolution and Revolution."

Revolution alone relieves us of pain and trouble, misery and slavery and leads us to contentment, satisfaction and bliss".

To conclude, Azad could sense the burning problem of his day felt a great need for a revolution. He stressed the need and exigency of revolution and taught the ways and methods which can help us in bringing about a change in our life. Azad prepared the youth mentally to raise the banner of rebellion against forces of injustice, economic exploitation and social disorder, slavery and degradation ruling over the land. Azad did play his part well. He could himself foresee the future.

عالم ھا کرِہ یاد آزاد آزاد۔
بنہ سانہ وچھتہ یاد پاوے مدنو

"The world will recall Azad some day
I shall make you remind, my beloved".

CHAPTER 23

SYED MAQBOOL 'ALTAF'—AS A POET

Syed Gh. Mohi-ud-Din Habeeb

His full name was Syed Mohammad Maqbool 'Altaf' Kharazami. "Altaf' was his pen name, and 'Kharazami' was the name of his birth place, wherefrom his ancestors came. He came from the Syeed dynasty and was of 'Qadri' sect, according to the genealogical tables.

Syed Maqbool was born in the thirteenth Century A.D. (1246 A.D.) at Chihilora in Baramulla Tehsil. He was first a 'sofi' saint and secondly a poet. But, unfortunately, Maqbool has remained in oblivion for a pretty long time and has been considered a good *sofi* so far, and not a poet. However, Maqbool died in 1341 A.D. and long years have passed since his death. But, now, we find Maqbool a poet of lyricism and a well-versed literary figure, who knows his art fully well and gives a beautiful expression to his feelings and emotions.

Maqbool has written much but most of his existing literary works are in Persian rather than in the Kashmiri language. Maqbool had read enough of the Persian literature and, therefore to write in Persian was an easier task for him than to write in Kashmiri. Thank God, Maqbool has not forgotten the Kashmiri language and has written all his lyrics in it.

Maqbool, as I said, was a saint. He had lived in caves and followed the 'sunnat' of the Prophet of Islam. Therefore, one peculiar characteristics of his poetry consists in his remaining disinterested with this worldly life. "To love life" is all right, but to be deeply interested in it is not the precept which would have been followed by the poets of the East". That is why critics generally believe that the poets of the East shun this worldly life, whereas the poets of the West love life and are interested in it. Maqbool repents for coming over here in this world. In one of his poems, Maqbool says :

عدمہکس دریاوس مرمیون کھژاو حبابہٕ
مذہ رونمو یہ چھو خوابہٕ آولنسی ولنے آس

"I appeared as a bubble on the surface of the river A'dam (The existence before this worldly life), and I did not know it to be a dream and thus was encircled in the everlasting whirlpool."

It is not Maqbool alone who has expressed his feelings in this manner, but almost all the poets of the East have done so. Plato, the great Greek philosopher of the world said that this world is "a dream within a dream twice removed from truth".

As good poetry is a medium of expression of thought and emotion. We can therefore easily understand the beliefs of Maqbool through his poetry who believed that man is entirely an innocent being and that he is not responsible for his birth. It will not be off the point to mention here. that Maqbool believed in the idology of the fatalists who believe that man is innocent and that he can neither make nor mar his fortune.

Maqbool thinks that this worldly life is shortlived, temporary and like a dream and that we should not depend upon it. He thinks that nothing is everlasting. Even youth, a beautiful period of life is not everlasting, but it passes away like anything. Maqbool has put it in beautiful words.

ژھ دژاسے دوھن تارن یاودن دوہ سوران ای
تم دہ گنزرم رن گنزام زارن لوک چارن کرتم
گہ ای

"I enjoyed life for a few days, and youth is at an end. Alas ! those days I spent as if I had been gambling. Alas ! This Youth deceived me".

Youth has deceived Maqbool in the same way as everybody feels deceived by it. When in youth, we think that this life and its enjoyment are everlasting. Youth is the best period of life and that is why Maqbool has mentioned 'Youth' more than once in his poetry. Youth is not only a beautiful period of life, but also one that decieves the human beings. This is the transitory period and life on the whole is also the same "tale told by an idiot". Maqbool says.

دنیا چھو برم تہ بازگار وچھتہ بیعارہ لولو

"The world is like a deceitful magician and is devoid of pity."

Maqbool was prepared to spend a lot of money if he had been able to get back his lost Youth. Maqbool says.

جبہانہ دام توتہہ لوکہ چار کوچہ بازار لولو
دیلہ ہم تہ حرچہ دہا دیار ہاوہ یہار لو لو

"I searched for youth everywhere ; if I could get it back, I would spend a lot of money."

Somewhere he is prepared to offer even his life blood for the lost youth. So here lies the art of Maqbool as a poet ; and here is hidden the charm of his poetry. He does not preach directly but does display his hatred for life indirectly. Life was tasteful and sweet, provided it had been ever young. But as it is not the case, Life is very bitter.

Maqbool was a profound lyricist. We find his lyrics voicing the complaints of the lovers or the intense desire of a lover for a 'durshan' of his beloved. The poet identifies himself with lover and thus expresses the deep feelings and emotions of the lover, as if he had himself experienced the agony and read the mind and heart of the lover. This makes the subject matter of his lyrical poetry in general. When we come to Maqbool's lyrical poetry, we find it all bears the same colour.

The lover is very much angry with his beloved and Maqbool says:

اندرہ زالت نبرہ گالت شراک والتھہ جگرس
بوزہ پتہ کس پتھہ زہ اتیہ وفہس جفائی
شعہ یہ ھے

"You burnt my inner self and melted the outer portion of the body and my heart was rent. I follow you but I should not and the best method is to do injustice to your Justice (Justice is ironically used)".

The lover is ready to receive his beloved provided she would pay a visit to him. Maqbool the poet is also ready to receive his beloved for whom he would make a bed of flowers. He says :

گوشن کرہ ھے پوشہ وتھر اٹوی
معشوق تعشوق چانو پیٹھے

"My beloved, I have a great desire to see you and I would make a flowery bed, in gardens, for you. Maqbool is ready to sacrifice not his 'self' alone but all those who are near and dear to him".

Maqbool is intrinsically a poet and has got a set of his own ideals and rules. He has got his own philosophy too and like other great poets thinks that love (Ashiq) and intellect (Aqil) are quite different fields. He says.

عشقہنس منزلس مکاناہ چھی جدا
مردن ایمہ کین نشاناہ چھی جدا
عقل کرزانی کہ ایں رمز از کھا
یت حکایاتس بیاناہ چھی جد

"Love has got a different field from that of the intellect and the people who have got acquaintance with love are different from those who have belief in intellect. 'Intellect' can not understand the secrets of it (Ashiq) because the story of love has got a different expression".

CHAPTER 24

HEEMAL AND NAGIRAI*

M. L. Pandit

Poor Brahmin, Sada Ram, could bear the bickerings of his shrewish wife no more. The virago had drawn him to fight ; his heart was filled with 'Vairagya,' "Only a henpecked husband", thought he "would live under such trying circumstances any longer." One fine summer morning, therefore, found him miles away from his home on the banks of a lovely spring in the midst of a willow grove. Lack of sleep and strain of long journey were telling upon his weak constitution. He had a hearty drink of ice cold water and fell unconscious on the green velvet under the shadiest tree.

When he woke up, the Sun had covered half his journey across the azure sky. Suddenly our Brahmin perceived a beautifully speckled snake basking very near him. At first he was terrified, but, finding him quite motionless, he mustered courage and drew nearer only to find that the snake was wounded by the claws of some bird of prey. But the fire of life had not extinguished in its body as yet. At this discovery a queer thought struck him : he put the senseless raptile in his knapsak and turned his steps back homewards.

"See what treasures I have brought thee", said the old Brahmin entering his room to his bewildered wife. "You have always been complaining about my not earning anything. Now you will get the satisfaction of your life. Come along and open this bag".

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* From Folk Tales of Kashmir II

"Enough, enough of your boasting," cried his impatient wife. "Where have you been idling away your time so long? Let me see why you are overjoyed."

Finding her busy unfastening the knot of the bag, the Brahmin thanked the gods. He quietly slipped out of the room and bolted the door from outside. Anxiously waiting to hear the cries of agony of his helpless wife, he was suddenly taken aback to hear her calling him joyfully. She was asking him to enter and to behold something very interesting. And, entering the room, he found himself in the presence of a charming prince who was offering his wife handfuls of gold and precious stones.

The snake that the Brahmin had brought home was none other than *Nagirai*,[1] king of the nether world (patala). While basking in the sun he had been wounded by some demon in the form of an eagle. But the Brahmin had saved him from any further torture and hence his deep gratitude. He resolved to pass some time in their company and spend his days sight seeing.

King Balavira ruled the state of Bala Pura.[2] Nagirai would everyday visit a garden in the vicinity of the royal palace and while away his idle moments listening to the sweet notes of singing birds.

One day the king's only daughter, princess Heemal, accompanied by a host of friends and attendants, was also there on a picnic. In her ramblings further into the garden she suddenly came upon the musing prince. The two stood face to face for some moments and a light of admiration for each other shone in the eyes of both. Their lips remained parted as though about to speak but they never uttered a word. All at once the princess collected herself, blushed at the thought of being in the presence of a stranger and passed on but not without an itch in her heart. Later in the company of her friends she could not forget the beaming visage of the handsome prince. At last when she could no longer conceal the agitation in her mind, she sent one of her trusted friends to enquire after the stranger. But he had already left the place.

From that day princess Heemal lost all interest in regal sports. Day by day she grew weaker and pale. Only her bosom friends knew the cause of her melancholy and would make every effort to cheer her up. They were also trying to get some news of the prince, who had stolen the peace of mind of their beloved friend. Nagirai too could not avoid the shafts of Cupid. Day and night he pined for a vision of Heemal, the "Garland of Jasmine".

The king grew restless at the poor state of heart of his affectionate child. Through a trusted servant he learnt what was at the root of the matter. Promptly he arranged for a 'Swayamvara', inviting all youthful princes from far and wide to attend it. When Heemal entered the great hall, where the princes were seated she was disappointed to find that the prince of her heart was not among them. So with great displeasure and a heavy heart the king was obliged to dismiss all the invitees. He thought his daughter had gone crazy and that it would be a befitting punishment for her to remain single throughout her life.

One day the princess was passing through a street in her palantuin. To her great delight she perceived Nagirai—standing in a corner among the crowd of on-lookers. She ordered her train to stop, stepped down and put her *mala* of pearls round the neck of her lover. Taking him with her to the palace, she introduced him to her father, who was mighty pleased at the thought of having the Lord of the lower world as his son-in-law. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and show, amid festivities throughout the Kingdom.

The time came for Nagirai to leave for his own country. With tears in her eyes Heemal left the abode of her father and accompanied her husband to the nether world through the passage of the very spring beside which the Brahmin had found Nagirai for the first time.

Nagirai had already a Naga wife, who had no good will towards this delicate woman of the upper world who was going to enjoy a status above that of hers. This was unbearable to a Naga woman. She would never let that beautiful cat; dominate her. Being clever she did not let Heemal feel that she

Heemal) was in any way superior to her. She would always scold her and try to foster an inferiority complex in her heart. She terrified her so much that Heemal could never think of disobeying her, whatever liberties she might take with her husband.

"You vixen", her terrible sister shouted at her one day, "you are assigned the task of feeding milk to the young Nagas of the household. As soon as the milk is boiled and cooled you should ring a gong which will be a signal for the children to rush to the kichen to have their breakfast. Don't give me an opportunity of seeing you neglect your task.

One day while the milk was still on the stove, the gong rang through no fault of hers. The children came rushing along, applied their tiny mouths to the kettle of boiling milk and got burns. On their complaining to their mother, she became very furious. Raging with anger she hurried to the spot and bit the unfortunate Heemal all over. Heemal fell down senseless to the ground.

When Nagirai came to know about this catastrophe, he lost no time in reaching there. Taking her in his strong arms he at once came out and landed on the upper world. There he cured her through a spiritual process and made her a comfortable abode on the top of a lofty tree.

"Kill the desire of visiting my palace any more," he warned her. "I promise to see you off and on."

Not satisfied with this sort of life, she time and again persisted that she be taken again to the lower world. But Nagirai never agreed. He would tell her, "I cannot allow you to take such a risk at the peril of your life. I swear by the dust of my ancestors that I shall be compelled to leave you for ever if you repeat this idle wish again."

This quietened her for some time, but one day she could not curb her feelings. No sooner did the longing for Nagirai's palace escape her lips than he jumped into the spring. She tried to catch hold of him but only a tuft of his long hair came into her clutches. She cried after him, but in vain.

Mad with the pangs of separation, she was found wandering about asking every passer-by for some news of her Nagirai. The remaining years of her life passed in this way till one day she was found dead on the banks of the spring which upto this day is known as the 'Spring of Nagirai.' Go to Shopian and there in the marshyland outside the town, you will find a small spring with the impression of a tuft of hair on one of the stones surrounding it.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Mention is made in Kalhana's *Raj Tarangini* of some Naga Prince, by name Nagarjuna.—Ed.
2. Some where near the Shopian of today.

CHAPTER 25

RASOOL MIR AND HIS POETRY

H. Ramzan Mazloom

Kashmir has produced a galaxy of great artists and poets who were inspired by heaven, as it were. The prominent among these are Lalla Arifa, Mahjoor, Mehmood Gami, Azad, Rasool Mir etc. Mir was influenced by the poetry of Lalla Arifa. His poetic genius holds important place in the 19th century Kashmiri literature. He showed a marked excellence and maturity over Mehmood Gami in his poetic diction and sublime thoughts. He was born at Mirmadan, Doru, District Anantnag. His father was a Namberdar. Like Wordsworth he was deeply moved by the natural scenes and its panoramic views. He regarded nature to be a great guide and teacher and poetry as the overflow of emotions in a state of tranquility.

A study of Mir's Poems would reveal that he grew up as an artist and achieved a fine degree of maturation in his best works both in terms of thematic content and technical sophistication.

Mehmood Gami, while appreciating his poetic genius foretold that the youth would fade in the prime of his life, which indeed came out true. The poems composed by him in his later stage were more heavenly than those he composed as an enthusiastic and youthful poet.

Mir received his education in a Maktab in Mirmadan where boys and girls of Doru and surrounding areas used to recieve Persian and Arabic education. There was a fair girl named "Kongi" in this Maktab. Mir was attracted by the childlike charms of Kongi and soon they became very intimate playmates. Kongi was a little child with extraordinary charm and beauty that filled the heart of Mir with "poetic frenzy" and was inspired with heavenly thoughts. With the passage of time their childhood frolics changed into deep love.

Of late, Mir had been weaving the warp and wool of his desires into a delicate pattern but time, the merciless destroyer, dealt a heavy blow to his cherished dreams and ideas. Kongi was segregated from him by her parents and soon her marriage was settled at Basani Bloog. Mir fell into the world of loneliness and his life looked desolate and meaningless. In this state of estrangement his heart was divinely inspired with a poetic tune which he wanted to hum to his love Kongi, "I have been ruined by your separation Kongi, do enlighten me, by providing a glass of ambrosia."

When the cup of his patience was exhausted, he became love lorn and went in search of his love. The sudden separation virtually stabbed his tender heart, and compelled him to say, "oh ! my dear love, I can not bear your separation any more. It compels me to leave everything and engage myself in your worship."

During his search for his love he once sat in the moonlit night, by the bank of River Jhelum looking at the reflection of moon beams in hyaline, shining and sparkling water. He was so absorbed in his thought that he felt his love near him in the picturesque scene around him and thus he exclaimed, "Thanked be the supreme power that provided me an opportunity to meet my love. My love has come to meet me personally and we shall become one. My long cherished desire has been fulfilled. Now I can verily see my love with me, and my heart goes pit-a-pat."

Rich imagination in its real form directed the functioning of his mind upon eternal objects—objects that present themselves before the physical eye, or which are visible to the eye of the mind. Nature was mostly the focal point of his observation.

The poet possessed more than usual sensibility. He observed the objects of the world quite carefully which in turn gave rise to certain wonderful feelings and emotions. The poet allowed them to settle in his mind. In the process of meditation that followed, the original feelings and emotions, got wonderfully though mysteriously altered by their mutual interaction.

No satisfactory evidence is available about the possible date of his death but according to a popular belief he is believed to have died in 1870.

Late Abdul Ahad Azad writes that Mir died in poverty while others are of the opinion that he trotted some sixty years in this world. But in the final analysis a majority of critics and research scholars believe that he died quite young and his date of death synchronises with the possible date 1870 as visualised by late Abdul Ahad Azad.

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CHAPTER 27

MERCHANT AND HIS SEVEN TREASURES

K. L. Kalla

Once upon a time there lived a rich merchant. He used to roll in riches. He deposited his huge sum of money in seven treasures hidden in the pits dug out by him for this purpose. He was very greedy and ambitious. When he filled these treasures to brim, he felt satiated with his lot. "How great I am ! Master of seven treasures !" he soliloquized.

It so happened one day that the merchant went to have a look at his seven treasures. To his surprise he found these seven treasures being watched by seven cobras. He asked the Head cobra if he could come near him "No, go away. These treasures are not yours." "Then to whom do these treasures belong" ? asked the merchant. The cobra said. "The king of the land has seven wives. The eldest of them is pregnant. The child she will bear is the master of these treasures."

The merchant couldn't do anything but he hit upon a plan. He reached the kingdom of the king in the garb of a hermit. There he performed a few miracles before the king. The king was very much pleased with him and promised to give him anything, he demanded. The merchant said, O Your equivalent of greek nymph. It is believed that she dances and sings in gardens and forests during night time. In the South-West of Kashmir, the character is particularly talked about. It may not be too much to say that the luxurious and exciting scenery of nature has become responsible for the birth of this character in Kashmiri folklore. After all, our pines and forests could not but have so excited the imagination of our writers and poets as to make them see with their mind's eyes an exceedingly beautiful creature playing and singing with the music of water-falls, of streams and birds.

There are many stories about nymph of this type, one of which I may relate here to show the roots of this character. Once a youth came to know about a certain nymph which lived on a lotus in a lake which was situated in a cave. The road which led him to the cave was full of ferocious beasts. He reached the lake. The nymph taking him to be an ascetic blessed him and asked him to demand something. He asked her to marry him and she had no way out but to give her consent.

She kept one form of her body on the lotus which was invisible and also retain the roots of supernatural character, Wigini. Another interesting character of our folklore is Rantas. This character is supposed to be a ferocious lusty beast, belonging to the female sex. She is supposed to be too fond of men. She is believed to have a body, over-grown with hair. They say that her toes are directed backwards and her breasts are so long that she hangs them over her shoulders. She lives in caves and comes in populated areas in the nights of winter and autumn. She is mostly found in southeast parts of Kashmir. The children insist to their grand-mothers on telling them stories about her.

Rahchock or Bramrachok is another fascinating character of our folklore. He is a creature having a pot full of fire on his head. They say he has a powerful, luminous eye on his forehead. It is believed that late travellers in desolate areas often meet this light which leads them either to ditch or to cave.

Often, children in villages sit by the window of their houses and cast glances at far off places to where light burns and extinguishes and call their mates to see 'Rahchok'.

'Tasrupdar' is the character most prevalent in rural stories. He is supposed to be in desolate and deserted places like 'Rahchok.' He can see every-body, but no one can see him. He is supposed to accept sacrifice of sheep and offers of rice. He can change his appearance and form. He cannot harm person in possession of iron or matches, because he is afraid of these two things. He cannot harm a horse or a rider but tries to frighten them by setting fire on the horse's tail. He lives in caves and ditches, it is said, always spying prey.

'Dan' is a supernatural character mostly talked about in Keshtwar and Baderwah. She is supposed to be an evil spirit who always tries to bar the roads to good deeds.

CHAPTER 26

SOME SUPERNATURAL CHARACTERS OF KASHMIRI FOLKLORE

K.L. Kalla

While the story element is definitely a fascinating one in our folklore, our characterization, is at the same time, possessed of an intriguing nature. This is generally true of the supernatural characters. They reveal a vividness of imagination and a loveliness of conception. The background of their creation also reveals the social and historical conditions, of that age in which they were written.

One of the earliest types of these creatures is Yach, for instance ; this word comes from the Sanskrit word Yakh a mythological knight belonging to the court of Indra, the king of Paradise.

Yakh being regarded as the wealthy person in paradise, we have it in our folklore that if he by chance places his cap one's head one becomes rich. Thus this conception of Yach in reality is the conception of Yakh and as such this supernatural character is a popular chatacter of our early folklore. The conception is clearly based on Hindu mythology ; which dominated the social life of the early periods.

We have another popular character, i. e. 'Wigin' the

Majesty, one of your wives is pregnant at this time The child she will bear will be mine. But in order to look after him, the mother should also be allowed to accompany me." The king became mum but had no option but to agree to this as he had promised.

The merchant left on the return journey to his home accompanied by the queen. His way lay far off So at dusk, he entered a potter's house and requested him to give them shelter for the night. The potter and his wife welcomed them and entertained them nicely. Both merchant and the queen were confined in one room.

Next day, when the day had sufficiently advanced the merchant and the queen did not get up. The potter's wife went to awaken them. To her surprise, she found the door of the room open. She peeped through it and saw the head of the queen cut off She cried but her husband calmed down lest anyone should hear and put them to trouble.

With much grief, the potter buried the queen in the courtyard of the mosque where he used to offer prayers. One day, when he was returning after offering his prayers, he heard the cries of a baby. When he looked to see who was crying, he found a child coming out of the grave, where the queen was buried. He felt excited. But, anyway he took the baby to his home. His wife felt very happy on seeing the child as they had no child of their own. She looked after the child and brought him up into a fine boy.

After a few days the merchant went again to the place where his treasures lay. The head cobra informed him that the boy who is to be the master of the treasures is still alive. The head cobra related the whole episode about the boy to the merchant. He was terribly upset.

So he set out with a huge sum of money for the potter's home. When he reached his locality, he opened a shop there. After some time, he asked for the services of the boy from the potter and promised to pay him a large sum of money. The potter could not see through his trick. He readily accepted. Once he sent this boy to his home along with a letter addressed to his son that he was going to send this boy to bring some goods. The potter was a simpleton and readily agreed.

This merchant had a lovely daughter at his home. When she saw the boy, she fell in love with him and wanted to marry him. She got the letter and on reading it tore it to pieces. She played a trick. She wrote another letter saying, "My dear son, you should marry your sister with this boy without waiting for me." When the brother got the letter, he received the boy with courtesy and respect and arranged the marriage of his sister.

Here the potter became very worried about his 'son' and inquired of the merchant about the whereabouts of his 'son'. The merchant assured him that his 'son' would be all right. He decided that he would himself go to bring him. When he reached his home, he saw the boy wedded to his daughter. He was all stunned. He sent for his son and came to know about the mischief played by his daughter.

He still did not give up the idea of killing the boy who had now become his son-in-law. He then went to the outskirts of his locality and met a man who owned a brick kiln. He bribed him with a lot of money on the condition that he would send a messenger to him the next day and that he should put him into the kiln.

The merchant sent his son-in-law with a letter to the kiln-owner. Lucky as he was, he was seen by his brother-in-law. He took away the letter from him and himself went to the kiln-owner. Accordingly, the kiln-owner put him in the kiln and the merchant's real son was burnt to ashes.

The son-in-law of the merchant returned home. When the merchant saw him, he became all ablaze and learnt that his son had taken the letter instead of the son-in-law and burnt himself to death. The merchant developed more and more hatred towards his son-in-law and daughter also. The greed of money stung him badly. So he consulted the leader of a gang of thieves and bribed him so that he would kill his son-in-law and daughter. He gave the leader the exact location where his daughter and son-in-law used to sleep. The day was fixed for execution of the evil deed.

When the day came, the thieves reached the merchant's house. On the same night, the son-in-law felt terrific pain in his stomach. To alleviate his pain, the daughter of the merchant wanted his attention to be diverted to some other things. She took him to some other room where there were beautiful paintings.

When the thieves reached his room, they found nothing. They went upstairs and found a couple sleeping there. Not knowing that it was the merchant himself along with his wife, they cut their heads and ran away. So did the silly merchant die, leaving his seven treasures behind for his son-in-law, the foster-child of the potter and the son of the king.

CHAPTER 28

KALHANA AND HIS RAJATARANGINI

(*Mrs.*) *Madhvi Yasin*

Indian architecture, sculpture, cave-temples and paintings in most cases, do not reveal the names of their authors. The peculiar trait of self-abnegation is specially characteristic of Ancient India. This is also noticed in the case of some of the literary and historical works. In the case of *Rajatarangini*, "The River of Kings", we at least know the name of the author, but, here again, the whole ancestry and the life of the author is hidden in oblivion. Kalhana shares the common fate of the Indian authors of note whose memory lives solely in their works. The introductory note attached to the end of each book of *Rajatarangini*, gives the name of the author as 'Kalhana', 'the son of the great Kashmiri Minister', "the illustrious Lord Canpaka". Historical deductions reveal that he was a Brahmin by caste. The Sanskrit style of *Rajatarangini* is similar to that of the accepted style of the Pandits of Brahmin descent. The introduction to each book of his chronicle is begun by prayers to Shiva in his form of *Ardhnarishwar* representing the God in union with Parvati. Besides, Jonaraja the continuator author of *Rajatarangini*, has referred Kalhana with the epithet "dvija". A study of his chronicle displays his friendly attitude towards Buddhism. His faith may be epitomized in one word "*Eleaticism*".

The name Kalhana was derived through the Prakrit "Kalhan" from the Sanskrit word "Kalyana", meaning "blessed".

Kalhana wrote his work during the years 1148-1149. The style and the spirit of the work shows that the author must have attained a mature age. The elaborate description of the unsteady conditions of Sussal's reign (A D 1112-20) makes it clear that he must have been of age at that time. Hence, his probable date of birth might have been the beginning of the twelfth century.

The century of the birth of Kalhana was marked, in the history of Kashmir, by a dynastic upheaval resulting in many important political changes. King Harsha (A D 1089-1101) seemed at first to give Kashmir a period of good government but he fell victim to his own lavishness and extravagances. After his murder, Kashmir, for seven years more, witnessed civil wars which brought death and destruction in its wake.

Kalhana was gifted with scientific approach and a critical temperament. His portrayal of the various classes of Kashmiri people is very graphic and true to life. The reaction of the common folk to the disturbed political conditions of the time, is full of realistic touches. He says that the people were "zealously prepared to welcome any change." His description of the idle and indifferent city crowds and their feelings, shows that he thoroughly understood the nature of his countrymen.

The unsettled political conditions of the time negatived all chances of patronage to the creative works of art ; hence *Rajataraṅgini* was not written under the patronage of any King. Kalhana had a high sense of his responsibilities. He considers only historians "worthy of praise, whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past and surpasses even the stream of nectar..., and can place the past times before the eyes of men !"

It is interesting to note that Kalhana prepared himself for the role of a poet. The Sanskrit classical poetry cultivated by Kalhana reveals that he had an intensive training in the Indian rhetoric, the *Alaṅkarshastra*, and the equal mastery of Sanskrit grammatical lore. His literary studies were deep and comprehensive. All the literature of his time, beginning from Epics to Kalidas's works *Raghuvansha* and *Meghduta* and Bilhan's *Vikramankadevacharita* and *Harshcharita*, were read by him. Stein says: "His literary training, indeed, had been of the strictly traditional type and the manner in which he employed it shows no conscious departure from the conventional norm. Yet it is clear that Kalhana was not a man of schools, absorbed in his *Shastras*."

Kalhana scrupulously studied the original sources including inscriptions of various kinds before he started writing, the *Rajatarangini*. He also studied coins and inspected buildings.

Kalhana found all possible avenues to his hereditary career closed on account of unsettled political conditions of the country. So, the best way to employ his talents, he thought, was to write down the history of his country from ancient down to his time. He was also inspired by regional patriotism. By painting a glorious picture of the past he wished that the countrymen should shed the inferiority complex, feel proud and try to emulate their past traditions. Therefore, the Great Asoka, he shows, was the kind of Kashmiri whose examples were to be followed. It is Kalhana's sheer patriotism when he says: "Kashmir may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by the force of soldiers."

Kalhana has honestly and impartially related the events. While recording the contemporary happenings, Kalhana has presented the principal figures in their individual character and not as types. Here he represents a contrast to Bana and Bilhan in treating historical personages, who have painted their heroes all white and enemies all black.

Rajatarangini is a classic by itself in Indian literature. It is very much different from *Charitas*, which were composed under royal patronage. The scholar-poets of *Charitas* had the rare gift of inventing fables and myths and applyig their talent in glorifying the achievements of their patrons. Their works are masterpieces of literature debbling in subtle poetic art, rhetorical embellishment, and *Alankarshastra*. *Rajatarangini* on the other hand, is the work of a detached and impartial mind, viewing the past and present with historical acumen and not in a spirit of hero worship or pleasing patron. *Rajatarangini* not only forms a class by itself in Sanskrit compositions but has a striking resemblance in character to the chronicles of medieval Europe and of the Islamic East.

While writing the first three books (chapters) of *Rajataraṅgini* Kalhana made full use of tradition whether written or oral, and the chronicles which were evidently based on such traditions. In writing down these traditions, at times, the critic in Kalhana comes out. For instance, he mentions three traditions of the death of the king Lalitaditya, without stating what is true, and comments: "When the great meet their end there arise—stories indicative of their uncommon grandeur." King Meghavahan's exploits have been described in such a fanciful manner, that Kalhana himself is apprehensive that they might not be accepted as true but he tries to justify them by comparing them with the cruelties of Harsha, which, in their town, might not be believed, but for them these were eyewitnesses.

For the last two chapters of his book Kalhana's main sources were his contemporaries, his father, fellow-countrymen and his own memory. Thus many incidents of the treachery of Bhiksacara's troops, he categorically writes, were witnessed by him. It is no surprise that much of the history of the previous two generations, he got from his father and father's friends who held key-posts in the then contemporary politics.

To give the details, *Rajataraṅgini* consists of eight books (Chapters) of unequal size, written in Sanskrit in nearly 8,000 verses of rare literary merit. The text may roughly be divided into three sections :—

1. Books I-III, are based on traditions.
2. In Books IV-VI, dealing with Karakota and Utpala dynasties, he has made use of the works of earlier chronicles who were contemporaries or near contemporaries of the events they described.
3. For Books VII and VIII, dealing with the two Lohara dynasties, he made use of personal knowledge and eye-witness accounts, the latter often perhaps received at second or third hand.

The style of Rajatarangini is not crude or difficult. These are scattered verses adorned in flowery language or donned in fanciful imagery, of country Sanskrit. Kalhana's idea was that even a historical text must be a work of art and has tried to make his work attractive to readers. His accounts are graphic and vivid except in his last two books, where so many characters are introduced without proper introduction. Kalhana who had maintained strict adherence to chronology from the beginning of the book most religiously, had in the second and third sections not followed it to the latter. Evidently he was writing his book for those, who were familiar with the events of the period.

Kalhana in writing *Rajatarangini* set a tradition for history writing. His book, after him, was continued by four successive historians from the point where he left, to some years after Kashmir's annexation by the Mughal Emperor Akbar.

The mission of a historian, according to Kalhana, is to make vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age. History has a unique gift of immortalising personages and events, and in this it even surpasses the mythical ambrosia, while the latter immortalizes only the man who drinks it, the former all those whom it touches, Kalhana was aware that his work would not only achieve permanency, but would enliven all the actors as well as himself. He had another object also in view. He says "This saga, which is properly made up, should be useful for kings as a stimulant or a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place". Kalhana expected that both good and bad Kings would derive profit from his work. He is a staunch advocate of historical impartiality.

Kalhana's assessment of more recent happenings is fair. He paints no character wholly black or white. He had deep insight into man's nature and his psychology. He says: "As in heaven the little coluds change shape, and take on the form of elephants, leopards, monsters, serpents, horses and other beasts—so do the waves of feeling change in the hearts of mortals, from kindness to harshness as the moments vary."

The didactic feature of *Rajatarangini* may be traced to the selection of *Sarta rasa i.e.* sentiment of resignation. Here

Kalhana's avowed motive is to show that material prosperity and royal possessions are objects of transitory glory. The evil acts of man recoil on him by the strange hands of destiny. In the same way, acts of policy, statecraft and individual conduct are again and again praised and analysed in the light of *Dharma* or *Nitishastra.*

Rajatarangini appears to wage a war in favour of benevolent despotism and deprecates feudalism. Believing in orthodox *Rajniti* (State-craft), he had his own conception of good government. Explicitly or implicitly *Rajataraṅgini* carries the idea that a strong king is the ideal king, who has firm control over unruly elements, but is benevolent towards his people and sympathetic to their wishes. He chooses his ministers with discretion, and listens to their counsels with respect. Kalhana has shown his unflinching disapproval of the *demars,* the petty feudal chiefs, who were the cause of anarchy and confusion in Kashmir since the death of Harsha. Another motive, perhaps, in writing *Rajataraṅgini* was to inspire the kings of Kashmir with their ancient glory and prowess and to curb the unruly elements, who aimed at making the king weak. He says 'The crab kills its father, and the white ant destroys its mother, but the ungrateful *Kayesthas,* when they become powerful, destroy every thing". At times Kalhana becomes pessimistic. The words put in the mouth of Harsha symbolises it : "This land, after having been a virtuous woman, has fallen like a prostitute into the arms of the insolent. Henceforth, whoever knows how to succeed by mere intrigue will aspire to that Kingdom whose power has gone". Here the historian shows his prophetic vision. He is no more simply a poet or a scholar.

Rajataraṅgini is a saga showing the force of *Karama.* Whatever good or bad a man does in this life, Kalhana believes, reaps the harvest for that in the life to come. Often the force of *Karama* shapes events and provides the basic moral sanction.

Fate, according to Kalhana, is the second force influencing the human destiny. Fate is sometimes used as a synonym for God. God or the Gods often influence human affairs.

Sometimes adverse fate is overcome by those who trust in their arms. Here also *Rajataraṅgini* gives another hopeful message to his countrymen that whatever fate the creator might have in store for them, only a strong king confident of his powers could save Kashmir.

Rajataraṅgini interlinks the *Karama* of the Kings with that of his subjects. Good Kings arise through the merits of their subject. A king and his subjects could mould the orders of nature.

This great work has also some shortcomings. The sources used by him, were not critically analysed and discussed. His narrative becomes more legendary and anecdotal in the middle of the ninth century, when one seems to reach contemporary records. "Of the defects of the records and the conflicting opinions which according to Kalhana's introduction rendered his task difficult, we nowhere receive a distinct indication." Fabulous stories, manifest impossibilities, exaggerations and superstitious beliefs, have been described as historical truths, which betrays his credulity. He has not separated historic legends from history. Similarly Kalhana's chronology is also not based on scientific data. Of course, one cannot expect critical judgment in matters of chronology from an author who has started dating history from a legendary date of the coronation of Yudhisthar from epics, and attributes three hundred years to a single ruler, Ranadilya. Kalhana could not and should not be blamed for this, as it was general trend among the Indians, so precisely described by Alberuni: "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating to chronological succession of their Kings, and when they are pressed for information, and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling".

Rajataraṅgini also presents a contrast within itself—its earlier part is a mass of fiction, and later part, that is early medieval part, is real history. It vividly describes the falling glory of Kashmir,—place of intrigues, murders, seditious, civil wars and treachery. The life of the ordinary common folk has not been touched. It is the history of kings, royal families and nobility, justifying the title "River of the Kings".

CHAPTER 29

KASHMIR AND INDIAN POETICS

P. N. Pushp

More than ninety per cent of what we know today as Indian Poetics has been the valuable contribution of Kashmir. For about six centuries (VII—XII) it remained the homeland of almost all the bold speculations and cool-headed theorisings about the form and content, spirit and significance as well as the appeal and aesthetic judgment of poetry. In fact out of the two dozen most outstanding names in the history of this branch of Indian learning no less than fifteen[1] positively hail from Kashmir ; and of the remaining nine[2], only *Bharata*, and perhaps *Dandi* and *Bhoja* to some extent, can claim any profound originality.

Bharata's **Natyasastra** however, is primarily preoccupied with dramaturgy and it is very seldom[3] that he talks in terms of general poetics, although some of his general observations on *drama* may incidentally apply to *poetry* as well. Even the genesis of RASA (the doctrine of Aesthetic Enjoyment) formulated by him in his famous aphorism[4] was more or less a delicious vagary challenging many a critic to try his intellect on it, till *Abhinavagupta* (X cent.) cut the gordian knot and unravelled the mystery in his **Abhinavabharati.**[5]

In order to appreciate this contribution of Kashmir it would, therefore, be advisable to survey in brief, the historical development of Indian Poetics. As already pointed out above, *Bharata's* **Natyasastra** appears to be the earliest work of note on the subject. It must, no doubt, have been preceded by a long period of ardent gropings and zestful investigations both in dramaturgy and poetics ; but the **Natyasastra**, as the very title indicates, is mainly concerned with dramaturgy. It was towards the end of the sixth century that poetics began to develop on the lines of rhetoric with a strong bias for externalisation of poetic vision. It was rhetoric that led to a thorough scrutiny of the various modes of expression in language, and in course of time concerned itself with the 'presentation of an isolated object as it is poetically apprehended' : moving[6] gradually from the figures of speech to the poetic excellences and blemishes, and, as a logical sequence, to diction[7]. When diction came to be regarded as 'the soul of poetry' further investigations revealed that it was the power of suggestion[8] that imparted charm to what is looked upon as a poem, and that the aesthetic enjoyment could only be suggested ; it could neither be produced nor inferred. The quality of a poem, therefore, was considered directly proportional to this power of suggestion technically called[9] **Dhvani.**

It is in the **Kavyalaṅkara** of *Bhamaha* (VII cent.) that we find various aspects of poetics formulated for the first time after *Bharata*, in a systematic manner, independently of dramaturgy. A pioneer in the field he treated of poetics as a formal discipline and characterised[10] poetry as "word and meaning in close association", pointing out thereby the intimate interrelation between sound and sense. He also stated the purpose of poetry and discussed the making of a poet. While dealing with the 'sources' of poetry he also tried to strike a balance between poetic imagination and literary culture. It was against this background that he treated of the excellences and blemishes of poetic charm. He reduced the ten excellences of the **Natyasastra** to a minimum of three : **madhuryam** (sweetness), **ojas** (vigour) and **prasadah** (lucidity). He also defined the scope of the various poetic figures of speech, giving the highest credit to those that embody some strikingly extraordinary turn of expression called **Vakrokti**[11].

Bhamaha's line was followed up by two successors of his *Udbhata* (VIII—IX) and *Rudrata* (IX). The former wrote an exposition of *Bhamaha's* work and developed it further in his **Kavyalankara-Samgraha**, attempting a minute analysis of the various poetic embellishments or figures of speech. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have eclipsed *Bhamaha* himself, as is evident from references to 'the school of Udbhata' by later writers. His analysis, however, was carried further by *Rudrata* in his **Kavyalaṅkara** wherein he classified the poetic figures of speech on a fourfold[12] basis : that of 1. reality ; 2. comparison ; 3. exaggeration ; and 4. coalescence. He was also the first after *Bharata* to devote some thought[13] to **Rasa** also in the discussion of *Alamkaras* and equally remarkable is his reference[14] to *Auchitya* (or Propriety) which later on featured in the **Dhvanyaloka**[15] of *Anandavardhana* (IX cent.) and assumed the status of a new theory in the **Auchityavichara**-*charcha of Kshemendra* (XI cent.).

While *Udbhata* was preoccupied with a reassessment of the various poetic figures of speech, his contemporary (at the court of *Jayapida*), *Vamana* was assiduously analysing the various elements of the poetic form and content, in search of the 'soul' of poetry. His analysis led him to the belief that it was basically the **Riti** (or diction) of a poem that enlivened it. Hence came his verdict[16] : 'Diction is the soul of Poetry :' and diction he described as 'peculiar composition (or a pattern of arrangement of words)', which according to him admits of three[17] styles :

1. That characterised by all the ten excellences enumerated by him as : Simplicity, coalescence; uniformity (or smoothness), floridity, symmetry, sweetness, softness, raciness, lucidity and brilliance used of course in a technical sense);
2. That which is dominated by floridity and brilliance ; and
3. That which is extremely sweet and soft.

In this connection three points are particularly remarkable :

(a) Firstly that *Vamana* offers a rational interpretation of the regional nomenclature of the above mentioned three styles ; i.e. **Vaidarbhi, Gaudi** and **Panchali**. According to him these must have some time been due to the special features of the literary styles prevalent in the Centre, East and North of India. [Of these he recommends only the first (i.e. the **Vaidarbhi**) as the style par excellence.]

(b) Secondly that he gives us a clear peep into the working of his mind when he says, 'Poetry is characterised by these three **ritis** just as a painting is judged by the lines on the canvas.' [Obviously he is driving at an objectification of the poetic vision.]

(c) Thirdly that he describes a poetic figure of speech as 'beauty' which only serves to embellish a poem but is not indispensable like a particular excellence (of poetic diction) both verbal and ideal—possibly a collocation, of the sense and the sound, that comprises the charm of poetry ; while, on the other hand, poetic figures of speech like ornaments are supposed only to enhance the charm (already present by virtue of the excellence referred to above). This view he shares with his predecessor, *Dandi* (VII cent.) who had already propounded[18] poetic excellences as the finer breath of poetry. Any way, this view of his provided a timely corrective to the lop-sided development of the **Alamkara** school with which the poetic figures of speech had almost become an obsession. Thus *Udbhata* and *Vamana*, each in his own way, developed Indian Poetics to a point at which further development could be possible only in the direction of something more fundamental than the formal essentials of poetic idiom. *Vamana*, no doubt, had tried to probe the interior of poetic charm but his findings had not touched the innermost recesses of it ; for, as Dr De puts[19] it, his *riti* "is not the expression of poetic individuality but the objective beauty of representation called forth by a definite adjustment of certain fixed excellences." Nevertheless, by defining the **Alamkara** in terms of **Upama** (or the simile), and the **Vakrokti** as the basis of metaphorical expression he moved closer towards the core revealed later on by Kuntala (XI), who held[20] *Vakrokti* (i. e. a strikingly extra-ordinary turn of expression) as the "life" of poetry.

The innermost depths of poetic charm, however, were plumbed for the first time by *Anandavardhana* (IX Cent.) in his **Dhvanyaloka**. He critically examined the semantic philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar current in his time, regarding the relation of a ward to what it comprehends and thoughtfully applied it to the process of poetic expression. Three such functions of a word vis-a-vis its meaning were finally recognised by him :

1. *Abhidha* (or Denotation) whereby the conventional sense is expressed ;
2. *Lakshana* (or Indication) by which a "transferred" sense is communicated ; and
3. *Vyanjana* (or suggestion) which reveals or manifests the suggested sense.

Anandavardhana's genius lies in correlating all the earlier findings by *Bhamaha, Udbhata, Rudrata* and *Vamana* with the idea of this "suggested sense" which he called **Dhvani**. Ever since, this theory of suggestion has become pivotal to Indian aesthetics.

On a close study of the three functions of words referred to above, we find that both **Denotation** and **Indication** are dependent on worldly convention (the former directly and the latter indirectly) ; but **Suggestion** is not so circumscribed and, therefore, reveals the unexpressed sense (or **dhvani**) which according to *Ananda* is "the soul[21] of poetry." It is in terms of this very criterion that he determines (perhaps tentatively for practical considerations) three[22] categories of poetry :

(a) First Rate : **Suggestive** ; that in which the suggested sense predominates ;

(b) Second Rate (or Medium) : **Quasi-suggestive** ; that in which the suggested sense is subordinated (to the denoted)) ; and

(c) Third Rate : **Pictorial**; that in which the expressed sense is positively emphasized to the utter exclusion of the suggested, and the appeal depends merely on some charming turn of expression.

This threefold classification of poetry was comprehensive enough to have tempted many a later critic to indulge in scholastic hairsplitting and fastidious subdivisions so much so that by the end of the sixteenth century the number ran into five[23] figures. Without going into these details we may pass on to a consideration of the three aspects of the suggested sense :

(a) Communication of a matter of fact (idea)—a distinct subject, an idea, or a thought ;

(b) Communication of a poetic figure—something imaginative like wit or rhetoric, without an emotional experience ; and

(c) Communication of an emotional mood or experience, directly inexpressible.

Here also first-rate poetry is intended to be characterised by communication of an emotional mood. *Ananda* puts it clearly in a verse[24] :

> That (suggested) sense alone is the soul of poetry ;
> Accordingly was it that the **Soka** (or sorrow) occasioned by the pitiable sight of the **Krauncha** pair was transformed into a **Sloka** (or a verse).

Whatsoever[25] is appropriate to the evocation of **Rasa** and contributes to its awakening is desirable ; and on the other hand, whatever tends to hamper or repress this process has to be shunned. In this background the critic's outlook on excellences and blemishes gains a correct perspective and the basic considerations of the poetic principle are integrated into a comprehensive theory that achieves a synthesis of the creative and the critical, the subjective and the objective, or (as the late Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri put it[26]) of the expressive and the impressive, of law and liberty." The theory, no doubt, seeks a unity in diversity so that the emotions expressed are harmonised with the dominant emotion suggested; and accordingly, all other equipment of literary excellence, idiom or diction is significant only in the context of collaborating with the power of suggestion in the aesthetic endeavour of awakening the dominant mood. This new outlook on Indian Poetics was further clarified by *Abhinavagupta* (960-1020 AD)

Abhinavagupta had the rate advantage of being a versatible genius, equally well-versed in philosophy and literature, the critical and the creative; and happily he had made a thorough study of both the **Natyasatra** and the **Dhvanyaloka**. His commentaries[27] on these monumental works are no less monumental. His mastery over both dramaturgy and poetics placed him in a favourable position to correlate the two apparently divergent lines of literary thought; and through their imaginative correlation be finalised the most outstanding theory of Indian Poetics that ever since, has all along been respectfully accepted by all his successors, of course, allowing here and there for minor deviation in details or verbal aberrations in restatements. How he worked this miracle in Indian Aesthetics can hardly be understood unless the development of the **Rasa**-theory is grasped in all its essential rammifications.

The theory is substantially based on the terse aphorism[28] of *Bharata* laying down that:

> "Out of a *Union* of the *determinants* (vibhavas), the *consequents* (anubhavas) and the *variables* (sancharibhavas) [doth] the *birth* of RASA [take place]."

The terms *union* (*samyoga* in the text) and *birth* (*nishpattih* in the text) are rather vague and have, therefore been variously interpreted by a number of commentators and interpreters. *Abhinava* has offered us a critical summary of three of these interpretations[29] by *Lollata* (IX), *Sankūka* (IX) and *Bhattanayaka* (IX—X). He has quoted a fourth interpretation by his revered preceptor, *Bhatta Tauta* whose description of *Pratibha* (or Poetic Imagination) as the faculty of mind by virtue of which new and ever-new (suggestions) flash up," is profoundly original.

Of these the (*Mimamsaka*) *Lollata* interpreted the nature of this *birth* of *rasa* as *production* brought about by a cause and effect type of *union*. According to him the dominant emotion actually belonging to the hero is imagined to be existing in the actor who successfully imitates the hero. The theory, however, fails to explain how the aesthetic emotion attributed to the actor is transferred to the audience *Sankuka*, therefore, rejects this view and puts a *Naiyayika* (syllogistic) interpretation on the terms explaining the *birth* of *rasa* as brought about by *inference* on the analogy of "the painted horse." Thereby he means to affirm that the aesthetic emotion is inferred to be present in the actor and the illusion of identity thus occasioned is the source of aesthetic delight. But even he does not care to explain how an objective entity ascribed to the actor gives rise to a subjective experience in the audience unless we presume that the essential concommitants bringing about the feeling are present in the mind of the audience too. *Bhatta Nayaka* sought to explain this transition from the objective to the subjective in terms of *Sankhya* through the interplay of the enjoyer and the enjoyed. According to him it was the peculiar power of generalisation which divests the *constants* and the *determinants* of the immediate reference to their specificity, and makes them capable of being sensed in their general natures. But even this theory fails to explain the genesis of *rasa* in the audience. *Abhinava*, approving of his valuable theory of 'generalisation' sums up his thesis[30] very clearly thus : (as translated by Gnoli[31]).

"*Rasa* is revealed by a special power assumed by words in poetry and drama, the power of revelation to be distinguished from the power of denotation, consisting of and animated by the action of generalising the determinants etc. This power has the faculty of suppressing the thick peel of mental stupor which cloaks one's own consciousness... Rasa revealed by this power is then enjoyed with a kind of enjoyment different from direct experience, memory etc...... This enjoyment is of the same order as the tasting of the Supreme Brahma."

But rejecting his theory of enjoyment as far-fetched *Abhinava* postulated the presence of latent impressions in the minds of the audience and linked them up with the process of generalisation that ultimately leads to an aesthetic realisation called *rasa*. His *Saivaistic* exposition deserves to be quoted rather in details[32] :

"The combination of actors etc. thus serves to nourish the sensation of having the event represented directly in front of us ; the combination—in which the real limiting causes (time, space, the particularised cognizing subject etc. on the one side, and those afforded by the poem on the other) cancel each other out and completely eliminate each other—readily nourishing the state of generality in question. Therefore this very density of the spectator's perception nourishes the *rasa* of all of them readily, because the latent impressions of their mind concord with each other, the minds being varied by beginningless latent impressions......... From whichever point of view it is examined, *rasa* is, in any case, simply and solely a mental state which is the matter of cognition in the part of a perception without obstacles and consists in a *tasting*. What[33] is aroused by the union of the determinants etc. is simply the *tasting*. The form of existence of a non-ordinary character which is the matter of this *tasting* is called *rasa*..."

Even in his *Locana*[34] he stresses this experiential aspect of poetic meaning ; for the aesthetic object, as pointed out by him, is mental, yet not objective. The realisation of rasa according to him is brought about by its manifestation by the power of suggestion and what is manifested is not the *rasa* itself but its reflection in the form of a subjective state of aesthetic relish in the *Sahrdaya* (or the sensitive reader). The *Constant* lying dormant in his heart in the form of generic impressions, is, thus aroused to a state of aesthetic enjoyment by the power of suggestion working in close collaboration with the principle of emotional generalisation (or universalisation through de-individualisation of the aesthetic object). Thus according to him art is an immediate experience of an experiencing mind, (called by him the *Sahrdya* : the appreciative audience or the reader). The aesthetic flavour is intensified by an interpenetration of the subjective and the objective ; for beauty is subjective as an experience and objective as a characteristic of an object giving rise to such an experience. The consciousness of the intrinsic significance of this aesthetic experience also contributes to its flavour ; for after all it has its roots in the Universal Man. This aesthetic contemplation is not passively suffered as something transcendental or supra-mental. It is no doubt, non-intellectual in nature ; yet it is actively enjoyed as idealised, impersonal and universalised contemplative attitude. The source of this consciousness according to *Abhinava* is, as, put by Dr Chowdhary[35] 'the psychical substratum : the generic instinct of humanity'. Dr Chowdhary sharply observes[36] that this theory of aesthetic generalisation as propounded by *Abhinava* is essentially a theory of '*psychical distance*'. The aesthetic object thus deindividualised belongs to no person, but is a universal ideal content. The enjoyment of it is distinterested[37] : we feel it, yet we are not attached to it.

And this essential contribution of *Abhinavagupta* to Indian Poetics was later on defended by *Mammata*[38] (XI, XII cent.) and *Ruyyaka*[39] (XII) silencing all discordant notes heard by them. *Mammata's* **Kavyaprakasa** is a lucid textbook on Indian Poetics in all its comprehensive aspects, and has had the unique distinction of engaging the best attention of more than seventy commentators from various regions of the country. *Ruyyaka's* **Alankarasarvasva**[40] has similarly finalised the classification of the poetic figures of speech within the framework of this theory and set up a tradition followed later on by all prominent writers including *Visvanatha* (XIV), *Appaya Dikshita* (XVI) and *Jagannatha* (XVII).

The contribution of Kashmir to Indian Poetics has, thus, been both creative and critical ; and today, it expects some other intellectual of the eminence of *Abinava* to bring it up to date by supplying the obvious defficiencies : those of a deeper analysis of the creative process.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. (1) भामाह (vii Cent) ; (2) उद्भट (viii-ix) ; (3) वामन (viii-ix); (4) रुद्रट (xi) (5) आनन्दवर्धन (ix); (6) लोल्लट (ix); (7) शंकुक (ix) (8) भट्टनायक (ix-x) ; (9) भट्टतौत (ix-x) (10) अभिनवगुप्त (x) (11) कुन्तल (xi) ; (12) क्षेमेन्द्र (xi) ; (13) महिमभट्ट (xi) ; (14) मम्मट (xi-xii) ; (15) रुय्यक (xii).

2. (1) भरत (C. 300 A.D.) ; दण्डी (vii) ; (3) राजशेखर (x); (4) भोज (xi) : (5) हेमचन्द्र (xi) ; (6) जयदेव (xii) ; (7) विश्वनाथ (xiii) (8) रूपगोस्वामिन् (xvi) ; (9) जगन्नाथ (xvi)
3. नाट्यशास्त्र (Ch. xvi)
4. नाट्यशास्त्र (vi, 1) ;
5. अभिनवभारती, 1.
6. Cf भामह, दण्डिन, उद्भट and रुद्रट
7. cf वामन
8. आनन्दवर्धन,
9. cf अभिनवगुप्त
10. काव्यालंकार: I,16.
11. *Ibid*: II.85.
12. VII 9.
13. Chaps. xii-xv.
14. xvi, 20.
15. III, 32-33.
16. काव्यालंकारसूत्र: 1, (2) 6.
17. काव्यालंकारसूत्र III 1, 4,
18. काव्यादर्श I, 1-5.
19. Poetics : Vol. II. p. 146.
20. वक्रोक्तिजीवित: I.
21. ध्वन्यालोक, I.
22. *Ibid.* : III, 18-29.
23. Dr De gives the number as 5355 (Poetics : II, p. 203).
24. ध्न्यालोक, 1, 18.
25. *Ibid* : II and III.
26. Highways and Byeways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit ; p. 19.
27. अभिनवभारती on नाटयशास्त्र and लोचन on ध्वन्यालोक,
28. नाटयशास्त्र: VI, I.
29. अभिनवभारती : I, pp. 274-287
30. Abhinavabharati, I, pp. 275-278.

31. The Aesthetic Experience according to Abhinavagupta, pp. 53-54.
32. *Ibid.* pp. 68-71.
33. *Ibid*, pp. 103-105.
34. लोचन; I, 4.
35. Studies in Comparative Aesthetics, p. 31.
36. *Ibid.* p. 37.
37. Compare : (a) T.S. Eliot : Tradition and Individuality (b) I.A. Richards :...Principles of Lit. Crit. pp. 98, 180 248.
38. काव्यप्रकाशः, iv, 28.
39. अलंकारसर्वस्वम् pp. 16-19.
40. *Ibid.* vi. p. 240.

CHAPTER 30

KASHMIR AND INDIAN CULTURE

M.D. Bandey

India has been a land of immense diversities in geography, population and faiths. Its physical features include stupendous mountain chains steeped in eternal snows, deep rivers, fertile valleys, flat plains, arid deserts as well as impenetrable forests. But a careful examination reveals, beneath all these diversities, a unity which threads all these diversities into one, in the same way in which a silk thread unites different kinds of beautiful gems into a single necklace of which not a single gem is separate ; and though each gem has charm of its own, it adds to the beauty of the others. This is not a poetic fancy, but a well-established truth. As a result of the confluence of the numerous independent fountains and currents which have maintained their separate existence for thousands of years, a single stream of Indian culture flows through the sub-continent.

The composite culture of this great country with 700 million souls, having various dialects, is the natural outcome of an historical evolution. Kashmir from times immemorial being its integral part, has played her due role in the evolution of the composite culture of today. Kashmir even today stands for these values of religious tolerance and brotherhood and has always stood the test when and where posed with a challenge.

India became the meeting ground not only of races but of their religions and philosophies. She gave birth to three great religions of the world—Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism while she gave shelter to Christianity, even before Europe took kindly to it, and to Zorastrianism, when elsewhere it was persecuted in the 11th century.

This great country also embraced Islam and made Muslims feel the Gangetic plains as their home and made them live and survive with religious tolerance and be knit into one nation viz. the Indian nation. During the centuries this process culminated in a remarkable religious rapproachment : Hindus and Muslims worshipped at each others shrines; trade and economic interests crossed the political boundaries; even intermarriage was not a rare phenomenon. Kashmir in the far north, produced in the 9th and succeeding centuries a number of teachers who are regarded as the greatest exponents of Saiva doctrine and philosophy. Kashmir truly depicts the picture of secular traditions and today we have Shah Hamdan—a Muslim shrine—a place for common worship for Hindus and Muslims alike and Amarnath Yatra, where Muslim Pirs and Brahmins equally share offerings. See another instance of religious tolerance. At Fatehpura in Verinag Illaqa and at Waripura in Magam Illaqa, there is an imprint on a stone worshipped by Muslims as "*Kadam-i-Rasul*" (the Prophet's foot-print) and by the Hindus as *Vishnu pad* (Vishnu's foot). Kashmiris are generally known as *Pir-parast*. The people believe that a visit to the shrine will secure the object of their wishes. The poetry of Noor-ud-Din Wali, the greatest messenger of humanity, the lyrics of Lala Arifa, the reign of Badshah and Shri Bhat are glaring examples of the contribution to composite culture and have cultivated the spirit of patience, tolerance and respect for each other's faith. Muslims of Kashmir still feel proud to have sub-castes of their ancestral Brahmins viz. Bhat, Pandit, Nehru, etc. Their dresses are common and other traits of life i.e. marriage customs or death ceremonies are so intermingled that one fails to dissect them. Kashmiri language, the offshoot of Sharada though, has adopted Persian and Turkish words and phrases, and can be written both in Devanagri and Persian scripts. Gani Kashmiri, Rasul Mir, Abdul Ahad Nadim, all stand for common culture and feel proud of their rich heritage. Even in twentieth century, Dina Nath Nadim, Amin Kamil, Ghulam Rasul Arif and many other well-known Kashmiri poets are dear to both the communities. A Kashmiri feels inspired by 'Mahjoor' the Shelley of Kashmiri poetry, whose message stands for communal harmony and served as an impetus for freedom fighters in the national movement.

When we have a glimpse into the soul of India and understand its true community consciousness, we understand why there has been almost complete absence of any violent revolutions. In India through the ages politics has touched only a fringe of the life of the people. India, unlike the West, did not suffer from obsession with politics, Society was larger than the State, so solid and well-knit was the social fabric of India that Sir Charles Metcalfe, the famous historian, had to observe :

"Dynasty after dynasty tumbles, revolution succeeds revolution ; Hindus, Pathans, Mughals, Maharattas, Sikhs and the English are all masters in turn; but the village community remaining the same."

It needs to be emphasised that the tradition of tolerance and synthesis is not a political make-believe. It is a fundamental postulate of Indian culture and philosophy that every way of life has its own contribution to make to the welfare of humanity.

With these historical traditions and composition of secular character; the nation fought the political arena against the foreign yoke. With eyes open and after a considerate thought the people of the great country opted for secular democracy. This largest democracy of the world has three basic concepts viz. parliamentary democracy, secularism and socialism. We the Indians are wedded to these principles and they have always been and would always be dear to the people of Kashmir too. As observed by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru once, secularism in India does not mean negation of religion but more precisely religious tolerance. The word has been chosen because there was no better word. Our constitution does not discriminate between religions, and secularism only means that religion shall not play any role in either administration or politics. Moreover, a secular State does not mean an atheist State though it tolerates atheism. It means a State which is neutral in which in the field of religion.

These values always remained dear to the nation. In consonance with the psychology of conflict and policy of divide and rule, the British through the decades, with their avowed support to the two-nation theory set the stage for the ultimate vivi section of the motherland. Inspite of the political complications arising out of the secession of the pre-dominantly Muslim provinces into a separate State, Kashmir and her people true to their ideology of one nation, despite provocations, have been trying successfully to uphold the ideas of religious tolerance and the secular character of the State. It was in 1947 when the country in general and North in particular had become the victim of communal frenzy that the Father of the Nation had a glimpse of hope and confidence only in Kashmir and her people to uphold the banner of communal harmony. The raiders were almost knocking at the doors of Srinagar city but Kashmiris faced the challenge unarmed with their determination and sought help from Gandhiji and the people of the country. The nation as one man stood with them to uphold these ideals. Even in 1965 the people of Kashmir came out with flying colours under mature leadership of Shri G.M. Sadiq to face the challenge and ideals of secular democracy remained dear to them more than their lives. The people of this strategic border State have resolved to carry this torch light of secular traditions against any threat posed by internal secessionists or external aggression.

Last but not the least, Kashmir has contributed to the development of composite culture in the field of philosophy, humanism, religious tolerance and politics. It would not be out of place to mention that it was Kashmir's great son Kalhana who gave to the country the concept of history in its right perspective. Kashmir can claim the distinction of being the only region of India which possesses an un-interrupted series of written records, its history reaching back beyond the and Turkish words and phrases, and can be written both in Devanagri and Persian scripts. Gani Kashmiri, Rasul Mir, Abdul Ahad Nadim, all stand for common culture and feel proud of their rich heritage. Even in twentieth century, Dina Nath Nadim, Amin Kamil, Ghulam Rasul Arif and many other well-known Kashmiri poets are dear to both the communities. A Kashmiri feels inspired by 'Mahjoor' the Shelley of Kashmiri poetry, whose message stands for communal harmony and served as an impetus for freedom fighters in the national movement.

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Come across, the Jawahar Tunnel there is Jammu, the *Duggar Desh.* It is Holi today and Aslam throwing coloured water on Mohan is a common sight. Move to pastures high in the dales and find to your pleasant surprise a Gujjar singing a melodious Bhajan which immediately imparts to you a feeling having found your way to some village in Rajasthan. Have a round in the plains of this region the sweet tunes of Heer from shepherds of both the communities enchant you. These and other instances of common customs and rituals speak for the valuable contribution Jammu has made.

In the field of literature i.e. in Sanskrit, in Persian, in Hindi, in Urdu and in Panjabi, we find the contribution of both the communities equally great. A number of Kashmiri Brahmins have made considerable contribution in Persian and vice versa. Muslims do not lag behind. They too have done research work in Sanskrit. May I quote some poets and writers of the present era like Master Zinda Kaul, Krishan Chander, Chirag Hussain Hasrat, Khushi Mohd. Nazir, Dr. Ved Kumari, Ramnath Shastri, Dr. Shamas-ud-Din and Thakur Punchhi, Asar Sabhai and others whose contributions in different walks of life enrich a well knit composite culture. In all spheres of life, Kashmir has since long played a prominent role in the composite culture of the country and today Kashmir stands as a test-laboratory for secular ideals. Come what may, a Kashmiri, the natural product of composite culture is out to play his role to make the nation great and strong.

Lastly, a free India is set about creating a new synthesis in her national life, a synthesis which must assuredly take into account not only the religious ideals and cultural traditions of the long past but the changing social and economic conditions of today and emerging needs of the future.

CHAPTER 31

COSMOGONY OF THE PRATYABHIJNA PHILOSOPHY OF KASHMIR

R. K.Kaw

Every soul is a hero in this divine drama of Siva and has to reach the conclusion of this drama by shaking off his self-imagined ignorance and by realising his nature.

Certain controversial view-points have been raised by some of the earlier students who do not seem to have noticed clearly the fundamental principles of the system. It is sought, in this paper, to clear off these points, and to trace in brief the specific doctrines of the system in which it differs, from the other systems of Vedanta.

Controversial View-points

The first controversial view-point is regarding the name of the system. Some scholars do not seem to differentiate the Pratyabhijna from the *Trika* and prefer to call the philosophical system by the latter name. J. C. Chatterji observes, 'On the *Trika* there were many treatises each of which was called a Sastra, *but* these works do not represent so many different systems but only treatises on the various aspects of the same system of thought'.[1] K. C. Pandey states, 'It is a misnomer to call this system of Philosophy "Pratyabhijna" or "*Spanda*" as much as it would be to call India "Calcutta" or "Bombay."[2] Kurt F. Leidecker also notes, '*Trika, the Spanda and* Pratyabhijna are the designations of one and the same system and that distinction made by Dr. Buhler between the *Spanda* and the *Pratyabhijna* is erroneous.'[3] These scholars seem not only to be incorrect to suppose that *Trika, Sponda* and *Pratyabhijna* represent one and the same system, but have also failed to notice that Pratyabhijna is the only 'philosophy proper of the *Trika*.'[4] Metaphysical reasoning is the essence of a philosophical system. It is to this philosophical content of the system that Utpaladeva gives predominance in his whole work (*Pratyabhijna Karika*), relegating to a subordinate position of the Agamic and Tantric dogmatism, which *Trika*,' in the main, represents. This philosophical system is called "*Pratyabhijna*" by Madhavecharya in his *Sarvadarsana Samgraha* (in the 14th Century) on the basis of the title given by Utpaladeva to his Karikas.[5] For this apparent reason, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan also calls the system '*Pratyabhijna*' and not '*Trika system*.'[6] The system is also generally known as 'Kashmir Saivism', as this name was first given to it by J. C. Chatterji, because all writers on it belonged to Kashmir. 'Saivism or Saiva system is a more comprehensive term representing any system evolved from Saivagamas or Saiva Tantras ; sixty-four systems of the Saiva cult are mentioned in the scriptures of Kashmir Saivas, which include *Trika*[7] as one of them. It is pointed out that 'It was known as *Svatantryavada*, a name by which it is referred to by Abhinavagupta in his *Vivrti Vimarsini*' (I.P.P.V., p. 9). The system is stated to be also known as *Abhasavada*.[8] These are only the different doctrines included in the system. It is therefore correct to call the system, by which we mean the philosophic system, by the name '*Pratyabhijna*'.

The second controversial point is regarding the statement made by K.C. Pandey that Pratyabhijna Philosophy was not indigenous to Kashmir but was introduced and developed by the two ancestral lines which came to Kashmir from outside.[9] To those who think that the Pratyabhijna or Trika Darsana and its teachers were brought to Kashmir from outside, it may be questioned, 'Before its emergence in Kashmir where else did it originally exist wherefrom it was brought to Kashmir by the ancestors of Somananda and Abhinavagupta ?' Actually we have no trace of the system outside Kashmir before Somananda's time. As to the statement that the fourth ancestor of Somananda (Sangamaditya) came from Kailasa to spread the Saivagamas in Kashmir, it may be noted that this is not a historical fact, but is intended to give sanctity to Saivagamas. It may also be stated that Abhinavagupta received instruction in the Pratyabhijna Sastra from his teacher Lakshmanagupta who did not belong to his immigrant ancestral line, but was born from some other native family of Kashmir. It is however, certain that Lakshmanagupta himself learnt the Pratyabhijna system in Kashmir and not outside. Jayaratha, the commentator of Tantraloka, clearly states that the originators of this monistic system were the natives of Kashmir, namely Somananda and others. Just as saffron is indigenous to Kashmir, so is this system of philosophy. It was not to be found elsewhere before its origination in Kashmir. It emerged and flourished in Kashmir, and it is from this country that it spread in other parts of India where it was received and held in high esteem, as an unique thing like saffron.[10]

The third view-point concerns the time of existence of the system. Dr. Pandey thinks that 'the philosophic tradition which Somananda represents goes back about the end of the 14th century AD', as he says that Somananda repressnts himself to be the nineteenth descendant of Tryambaka; as such we will have to admit that a period of four hundred and fifty years must have intervened between Tryambaka, the propagator of monistic Saivagamas, and Somananda who lived in the ninth century AD. It may be admitted that the monistic Saivagamas, said to have been first propagated by Tryambaka, may have existed long before Somananda, but as admitted by Dr Pandey himself, Somananda is the first to make a definitely rationalistic approach to the problems of the Ultimate Reality. He refutes the view-points of the various prevailing schools of thought, contradicts their different theories and puts in nutshell his own new points of view.[11] It will have, therefore, to be admitted that Somananda laid the foundation-stone of the new philosophical system Pratyabhijna, in the ninth century AD, and not that the particular philosophic tradition existed before his time.

A similar view is expressed by Prof. Lachhmidhar. He attempts to establish that Pratyabhijna philosophy existed in Kalidasa's time (in the 5th century AD.). Firstly, according to him, 'Saivism followed by Kalidasa is a monistic philosophy which is no other than the Pratyabhijna Philosophy'', secondly, as he says, 'Kalidasa propounded the Philosophy of Pratyabhijna in his works, particularly Sakuntala...which is the allegorical representation of this philosophy'.[12] It may be stated that there is no evidence in Abhijnana Sakuntalam or any other work of Kalidasa to show that the Pratyabhijna system even existed in his time, not to speak of its having an influence upon him. It is certain that Kalidasa was an Advaitavadi Vedantin as admitted by Prof. Hillebrandt who observes 'even a cursory view of his works will show that he was influenced by the philosophy of Upanisads and the Bhagvadgita.[13] In view of this, it is not correct to say that Kalidasa was influenced by Pratyabhijna system. Prof. Lachhmidhar says 'in order to popularise this Pratyabhijna philosophy is its early days of promulgation, Kalidasa hits at the happy device of writing an allegory on the basis of the love story of Sakuntala in the Mahabharata'. In support of this statement he has given neither positives nor parallels. The attempt of the learned professor in attaching philosophical significance to some common words and ideas occurring in Kalidasa's *Sakuntalam* and twisting the tenets of the system in the various love incidents of the drama is rather far-fetched. It is questionable why Kalidasa, does not state anywhere in *Sakuntalam* or any other work, that he invented the allegory in this drama on the basis of the tenets of the Pratyabhijna system which he intended to popularise. As to Prof. Lachhmidhar's remark 'that in very early centuries Monistic Saivism... representing the Pratyabhijna doctrine is already existent in the Nilamata (Purana)' (work assigned the date 6th or 7th centuries AD) which he has supported by citing certain verses from it,[14] it may be noted that these verses represent the common ideas which occur in both the Pratyabhijna system and the Vedanta as are incorporated in them as well as in the *Nilamata Purana* from the *Upanisads*, which are the fountain-head of the philosophical ideas. The learned Prof. seems to have failed to notice the distinctive features of the Pratyabhijna system in which it differs from the Vedaṅta system.

The next view-point is regarding the connection between the Pratyabhijna system and the Sankaracharya's school of Vedaṅta. There are so many points common to Pratyabhijna Darsana and the Vedanta. The resemblance between the two systems has been first noticed by Dr. Buchler, who says 'This system (Pratyabhijna) does not appear to be older than the end of the ninth century AD and because of it so late a date, it seems to me most probable that its resemblance to Sankaracharya's doctrines cannot be purely accidental.[15] The scholar thinks that there was definitely an influence of Sankaracarya's school of Vedanta upon the Pratyabhijna. On the other hand, Dr K.C. Pandey says that there was a great influence of Sankara's Tantric philosophy on *Trika*. He remarks, 'this visit of such a great person (Sankaracharya to Kashmir)...purged the local faith of its Buddhistic element and strengthened the position of the new Tantric creed.'[16] It is not possible to agree with the learned scholar in holding that the great Sankaracharya, the expounder of the Vedaṅta system, had any share in the preaching or practice of Tantric philosophy, not to speak of its having an influence on the Pratyabhijna system. The internal evidence from his main works, the *Brahmasutra Bhasya* and the *Upanisada Bhasya* shows that neither the Tantra technique, nor any Tantric doctrine was known to Sankaracharya, the great Vedanta philosopher. The occurrence of some philosophical ideas and technical terms as common in Sankaracharya's *Daksinamurti-stotra* and *Isvara Pratyabhijna Vimarsini* pointed out by Dr Pandey in certain quotations from both these works in his thesis (Abinavagupta),[17] do not show any Tantric influence of Sankara's school on the Pratyabhijna, as we are familiar with these Vedaṅtic ideas and terms in the early Upanisads and also in Badrayana's Brahma Sutras. It is not understood what specifically Tantric is noticed in these ideas which represent more or less the Vedaṅtic thought.

Specific Doctrines of Pratyabhijna

The term Pratyabhijna is used, for the first time, in the special philosophic sense by Buddhists. According to them the special feature of knowledge (*sanna*, the Pali form of Sajna meaning the conceptual knowledge) is recognising (*Paccabhinna*, the Pali form of Pratyabhijna) by means of a sign (*abhinnanena*, the Pali form of Abhijnanena). According to another explanation, a recognition takes place by the inclusion of the totality of aspects of a thing. The idea of 'Recognition' (Pratyabhijna), involving the two-fold process of simultaneously perceiving some of the aspect of a thing and remembering all of its previously cognised aspects in their totality, was conceived by Somananda in his Sivadṛsti,[18] for the first time, in reference to the realization of the Ultimate Reality or divine Sākti. In the *Isvara Pratyabhijna Vimarsini* also the same idea of Pratyabhijna is given.[19] It is held that Parmasiva, the Absolute Being, who is aware of His nature in that state, while adopting the form of individual being (*Pasu bhava*) by the sovereignty of His will (*Svatantrya Sakti*) forgets his real nature by his own deluding power (Maya-vimohini-Sakti). The Pratyabhijna enables him to recognise his own nature already known to him before his individuation. 'Recognition' (Pratyabhijna) is distinguished from mere 'knowledge' in the sense that, in the former, the nature of self is not, in reality, unrealized before (*nananubhutah*), whereas realization in the form of mere 'knowledge' (*Jnana*) is lacking before its attainment. This is one striking point of difference between the Pratyabhijña and the Vedanta system.

The doctrines of Pratyabhijña are systematically enunciated in the Isvāra Pratyabhijña Karkas (Sutras), composed by Utpaladeva. It is divided into four sections—Adhikaras, viz. Jnanadhikara, Kriyadhikara, Agamadhikara and Tattvartha-samgrahadhikara. At the outset of the work, (in the first Adhikara), the teacher says, 'wishing to help humanity, I am establishing Pratyabhijña (Self-Recognition) which is a means of attaining all that is of highest value.[20] Then he tells us that the Self, the Ultimate Cause, called in his system Mahesvara, is endowed with the powers of Cognition and Action, His two primary powers. He is also assigned the Sovereignty of Will, called Mahasvarya as another primary power. According to Somananda, the teacher of Utpaladeva, Siva who is the 'essence and identity' (Self) every being, abounds in bliss and consciousness and is all-pervasive. He is an unrestrained stream of 'Will' (free will) and a spontaneous flow of 'Cognition' and 'Activity'.[21] All creation from an atom to a mountain, all that lives or can be said to exist in any form, in the form of sentient or insentient being, microcosm or macrocosm, are endowed with these powers.[22] Then the question arises, as Atman (Self) is the self-luminous Mahesvara, the Ultimate Being, Actor and Knower, where arises the occasion for His Recognition ? All talk of establishing or rejecting the existence of such an eternal and conscious Being is in vain. On this point the teacher says, although *Atman* is self-luminous, yet His real nature is not manifest due to His own deluding power (*Maya-vimohini Sakti*). It, however, becomes manifest by His own perceiving power (*Drkkriyatmika Sakti*) which remains hidden from awareness due to His innate delusion. It is the Recognitive insight (Pratyabhijna) which revives the perceiving power. The teacher next tells : the existence of insentient objects depends upon sentient beings, for it is an admitted fact that the life of all living things comprises 'Knowledge' and 'Action'. Thus in their very manifestation the insentient objects are also endowed with these two characteristics. Out of these two, Knowledge is self-established (*Svatah Siddam*) whereas Action (which is also self-established) is associated with a body and is thus perceptible to other perceivers ; and it is through Action that others' Knowledge can be inferred.[23]

A discussion is introduced to refute the theory of Buddhist Saugatas, according to which the perceiving Self is not a permanent being. The theory of the Savgatas is based on their doctrine of General Momentariness. Utpaladeva rejects the theory mainly on the ground of the phenomena of remembrance, and establishes the existence of permanent and eternal Self. We are conscious of our identity that we persist in all our changing states of consciousness, and though our ideas are continuously changing with the changing objects, we remain unchanged all the same.[24] The Self is endowed with three specific powers – the power of Remembrance (*Smarna Sakti*), the power of Knowledge (*Jñana Sakti*), and the power of Differentiation (*Apohana Sakti*) which are three distinct forms of Cognitive power (*Jnatratva Sakti*). The doctrine concerning these three powers is comprehensively treated in the work.[25] It is next established that these three powers rest in one substratum, the permanent Self (*Atman*), the Mahesvara. The nature and function of the Sovereignty of Will (*Mahesvaraya*), Volitional power, is further discussed and explained in a novel way. Here two new theories are introduced (1) Svatantryavada and (2) Abhasavada. All this is dealt with in the first Adhikara, Jnanadikara (Section dealing with Cognition).

In the second Adhikara, *Kriyadhikara*, section dealing with Action, physical activity, we are told that the whole creation or, in other words, manifestation is the result of the *Kriya Sakti.* Under the operation of three laws viz. the law of Division (*bhedabheda*), the law of Perception (*mana-tat-phala-meya*) and the law of Causation (*Karya karana, Kriya Sakti*) turns into a constituent power (*Nirmana Sakti*) which brings into existence the whole cosmos. Utpaladeva first discusses about the nature of *Kriya-Sakti.* He raises the question : *Kriya* involves succession (*Krama*) causing plurality which is contrary to the nature of Self who is, in essence, devoid of plurality. It is explained that *Kriya* (Action) involves plurality owing to the function of *Kala Sakti* (the time factor). Plurality is the result of perception of an object at different moments of time..[26] Self possessing *Kriya Sakti* as one of his primary powers is uneffected by *Kala-Sakti* and is thus free from the nature of plurality. This is explained by the theory of manifestation (*Abhasavada*), which is a newly-coined theory in the Pratyabhijña system. According to it, *Atman* or *Mahesvara* (Lord) is the Manifester of diverse manifestations (*citrabhasa-krttah-prabho*) in the form of the various objects of this universe. The *Kala Sakti* of this *Lord* (*Atman*) differentiates various manifestations at different moments of time as distinct entities, *Abhasavada* explains the relations of Plurality and Unity (*Bhedabheda*) the relation of 'Subject', 'awareness' and Object' *Pramata*, *Parmana* and *Prameya* and the relation of Cause and Effect *Karana Karya*, in conformity with the doctrine of Monism (*Advaita*). Unity in plurality is the first or the fundamental law of *Kriya Sakti* of which the other two laws, the law of Perception and the law of Causation, are derivatives or corollaries. These three laws are comprehensively discussed in three separate Sections.[27] Thus One Lord is both the Manifester—Subject (*Aham*) and the Manifested—Object (*Idam*). The manifested world is analysed into thirty-six '*Tattvas*' the essential principle of creation, from *Siva*, the highest principle to the earth, the principle of solidity. In the third *Adhikara*, *Agamadhikara*, Section dealing with *Agama* tenets, it describes the thirty-six *Tattvas* with their new interpretation as the categories, of *Abhasavada*, besides other matters, derived from Agamas, such as the pure and impure creation of perceivers. (*Pramatas*), the bondage (*Saṁsara*) and freedom (*Svatantrya*), the impurities (*Malas*,) the different states of perceivers (*Pramatas*), and four methods of realisation for liberation (freedom).[28] In the fourth *Adhikara*, *Tattva Samgrahadhikara* the teacher recapitulates all the important doctrines of the system and explains the essential nature of the Highest Being which is the Self of all living beings.[29] The summun bonum of the system is to 'recognise' the supreme and free nature of Self realising that all this world is one's own creation.[30] Thus fully knowing one's self and its highest potential powers of Cognition and Action, one thinks and acts in a right manner to see one's all desired objects accomplished.[31] By recognising one's profounder Self, a common man attains all that is of highest value and may have the transcendental power (*Sidhi*) without much effort.[32] Somananda also says, if the nature of fire is known that it gives light and heat, its knowledge enables us to make proper use of it for lighting our houses and other purposes. Similarly by knowing the value and the qualities of gold we can make proper use of it. Thus if the nature of *Siva Atman* (*Self*) is known, proper use of His powers—*Iccha*, *Jnana* and *Kriya*—will enable us to accomplish our desired objects state.[33]

The above gives the bird's eye-view of the doctrine as enunciated in the Pratyabhijna Sastra. Some of the outstanding features of the doctrine are further brought out here. It will be noticed that the universe was viewed in three different standards by three classes of former philosophers. The Nyaya Vaisesika systems viewed it in the 'Realistic Standard,' the Sankhya-Yoga systems in the 'Psycho-dynamic Standard' and the Sankara's school of Vedanta in the 'Ployonymic Standard'[31]. While the first two classes of philosophers represented the two stages of realistic thought, the third class followed the idealistic philosophy of everchanging names and forms. The third class aimed at the Upanisad monism by teaching absolute idealism. They attempted to identify subject and object and establish the phenomenal character of the world, thus reducing the facts of life to unreal manifestations. The Pratyabhijna philosophy was the first level opposition to this irrational view of Sanskara's system. The system set out correct the Sankara's theory of Maya-vada by uprooting its cause in the earlier doctrines of the Buddhists, like *Ksanikavada*, and *Vijnanavada*. In this school the conception of the Ultimate Reality *Mahesvara* has changed from that of the Vedantins Brahman symbolising only pure universal consciousness. The Ultimate Reality in the Pratyabhijna system includes *Prakasa* and *Vimarsa* as its two aspects, which symbolise respectively universal consciousness and physical activity.[35] It is owing to these two aspects of the Ultimate Reality that the universe consists of mind and matter, subject and object. The Psychological phenomena are attributed to the *Jnatratva Sakti* (Omniscience) of Mahesvara, whereas the physical phenomena arise from His *Kartratva Sakti* (omnipotence). *Atman*, according to Pratyabhijna school, is *Parkasa vimarsa maya* ; *Prakasa* makes *Atman* conscious of itself and *Vimarsa* makes him conscious of the external object world. *Prakasa* and *Vimarsa* represent in the Pratyabhijna philosophy the two aspects of the Ultimate Reality symbolised in Spinoza's system in terms of 'thought' and 'extension'. 'Extension' is visible thought and 'thought' is invisible extension. They are the objective and the subjective phases of which God is the identity. Everything is a mode of God's attribute of extension; every thought, wish, or feeling, a mode of His attribute of 'thought'[36].

Svatantryavada or the universal voluntarism is the chief doctrine of the Pratyabhijna system. It means the doctrine of 'self-dependence' or the 'sovereignty' of Lord's will which 'imparts the impetus to the process of the world'. In the earlier systems three main theories are propounded to account for the process of the creation, viz. (1) the Realistic or Creationist view (*Arambhavada*), (2) the theory of Transformation (*Parinamavada*) and (3) the theory of Manifestation (*Vivartavada*). The pratyabhijna philosophy proves them unsound. According to the first theory there exist nine classes of realities out of which everything in the universe is formed. It does not give any reason how Effect comes out of the cause in which the former does not exist before it comes into existence. According to the second view Cause brings out Effect, after it undergoes complete destruction. For instance, milk is transformed into curds after it no longer exists in that form. Seed changes into plant after it is completely merged in the soil. It has failed to explain the following instances. The birth of a babe takes place not after the destruction of its Cause, the parent; the creation and multiplication of bacteria do not involve the destruction of the former bacterium. According to the third theory, *Vivartavada*, which is upheld by Shankaracharya, all effects are the product of *Maya*, the Nescience. Pratyabhijna considers it absurd to think all the facts of experience are the product of the fictitious principle, *Maya* It makes a realistic and rational approach to the problem and postulates a new theory *Svatantryavada* to replace the earlier theories which are held objectionable. On the basis of this new theory it is due to the sovereignty of the Lord's Will that Effect evolves from Cause. It is the Lord's Self-dependent Power (*Svatantrya Shakti*) that miultiplies effect from a single cause without destroying itself (the cause). The production of species from parents, expansion and growth of cells from a single cell, creation and multiplication of bacteria from the first bacterium—all these are examples of the *Svatantrya-Shakti* of the Supreme Cause. The Universal Voluntarism is the only explanation that rational thinking can give to the wonderous creative power in Nature.[37] Schopenhauer (in the Western Philosophy) has also hit upon the same idea in his doctrine of "Will as the cause of everything"—will as a force of spontaneity and sense of effort, an impulse, instinct and spring of life, supernatural power.[38]

Abhasavada (Pratyabhijna theory of Manifestation) is another theory coined in the system for the explanation of the doctrine of Monism. Almost similar to *Vivṛtavada* of Vedanta, *Abhasavada also* holds the world objects as manifestations or Abhasas. The only difference between the two theories lies in the point that the *Abhasas* in the Pratyabhijna system are real in nature, where as those in the Shankar's system are fictitious and hence unreal. The system holds that it is the very nature of *Parma Shiva*, the Supreme Cause, to manifest Himself in diverse forms of the universe. *Abhasavada* postulates that as to burn is the very nature of fire, so to manifest externally what lies within is the very nature of Self. As it cannot be questioned why fire burns, so we cannot question why Shiva manifests Himself in the form of the universe. The manifested objects are real as they exist in the Supreme Reality. The manifested world appears on the background of Self (*Svatmabhitti*). Thus we have two aspects of Self, *Prakasa* and *Vimarsa*; the one stands as the substratum of manifestations and the other is the process of manifestations going upon this substratum.[39]

The doctrine of *Tattvas* is indeed a new discovery towards the exploration of all the essential principles of creation. It is an elaborate analysis of the Universal Energy (*Śhakti*). "Primordial natural force-principle" or the *Prima Materia* of all things, to put it in terms of the Western Philosophy. The list of categories may not sound very convincing now, in the light of modern scientific advances. But the entire conception is highly dramatic. It may be pointed out that the doctrine is found in other systems of Saivism with slight variations in its interpretation. The Sankhya system enumerates 25 Tattvas (categories of creation). These are of course, mentioned originally in scattered forms in the various Upanisads and are picked out by the Sankhya philosophers and put in a connected system. These are incorporated in total by the Kashmir Saivas in their system, who have further added eleven more *Tattvas* to bring the total number of *Tattvas* to thirty-six.[40]

Though there are so many points common to Pratyabhijna system and the Vedanta, yet these two schools are as different from each other as are the other schools of Indian Philosophy. As regards the fundamental differences between the two schools the Saivas argue as follows: According to the Vedanta, the nature of Brahman (the Ultimate Reality) is *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ananda*, i.e. existences, consciousness and bliss. It is of the nature of changeless or inactive consciousness (*Santra-Cit*), but lacks in *Vimarsa* which implies changing nature (*Ksobatvam*) and activity (*Kriya*), viz. its innate power of expansion into cosmos. *Vimarsa* is contrary to tranquil (*santa*) or inactive nature of Brahman. *Vimarsa* of Saivas is, according to the Vedantins, a form of *Vikalpa*, i.e, superimposition or illusion. On this point the Saivas say, it is illogical to hold Vimarsa as *Vikalpa* and thus to attribute an unlike characteristic (*Vijatiya Dharma*) to Brahman. Hence, the Vedantins will have to accept *Vimarsa* not as *Vikalpa*, but as real characteristic of Brahman which gives Him the changing nature (*Ksobatvam*). According to Saivas *Siva* is all-powerful and is endowed with both *Prakasa* and *Vimarsa*. *Prakasa* is the pure consciousness uneffected by material change, which is almost equivalent to Vedantins' *Sat-chidananda Brahman*. And *Vimarsa* is the activity, the changing nature (*Ksobatvam*), i.e., the potentiality of changing itself into the form of the universe. Both *Prakasa* and *Vimarsa* are innate in *Siva*. It cannot be supposed that something extraneous causes in *Siva* the nature of changing into the form of the world, as Vedantins do in attributing Nescience (*Maya*) to Brahman for causing superimposition of the world in Itself. Nothing extraneous causes the potency of burning in fire, but the characteristic of burning is innate in it. The nature of *Vimarsa* is thus innate in *Siva*, the power (*Sakti*) of manifesting Himself in the form of the world. Saivas further question, how can Brahman be of the nature of *Vikalpa*, *as the Vedantins* themselves cite so often the Sruti '*Yatha visphulings...*' i.e. *Jivas* evolve from *Brahman* as sparks from fire (*Agnikana-nyayena*). From this it is clear that Jiva is of the nature of

Brahman. As, according to Vedantins. *Brahman* lacks the *Paramarsa Sakti*, viz, the power of differentiating subjects and objects, *Jiva* should also lack it. Thus its very existence as *Jiva* becomes null and void. But as spark has by nature the power of burning which is originally innate in fire from which it evolves, so we must admit *Paramarsa* Sakti to be innate in Brahman, as we find it in *Jiva*. The Vedantin objects to this point and says that *Vimarsa* comes to *Jiva* by adopting *Upadhi* (body). *Upadhi* means something that conditions limitation to holding capacity. Thus the *Upadhi* renders *Jiva* limited in powers, but *Vimarsa* cannot be the result of adopting an *Upadhi*. The Vedantin has to accept *Maya Sakti* as the principle that divides Brahman into limited forms. The Saiva questions: "is *Maya Sakti* innate in Jiva or Brahman ?" It cannot be supposed to be innate in *Jiva*, as in that case the division into *Jiva*, and *Brahman* will be impossible. In case Maya Sakti is supposed to be innate in the latter (*Brahman*), its purity will be impaired by limitation which is inconsistent with the nature of *Brahman* (*Siva*). On this inconsistency the Vedantin says that in essence *Maya* is not a real thing. What is it then, the Saiva asks ? Vedantin says, it is of the nature of illusion, which causes one to manifest itself in the form of many. What is the characteristics of Maya ? If the Vedantin says, it is of the nature of ignorance, Saiva questions: is it something of positive character (*Bhavarupam*) or of a negative character (*Abhavarupam*) ? In the latter alternative, there will not be the manifestation of diverse objects. In the former alternative, it will be impossible for the pure Brahman to be the cause of the impure world, which is of the nature of illusion, otherwise Brahman will thus be reduced to nothingness (*Abhavarupam*). The Saiva further questions, what is the nature of this positive entity, i.e., the ignorance of positive characteristic (*Bhavarupa*) ? The Vedantin replies, it is inexplicable (*Anirvacya*). The Saiva says, if so, how do you call it *Maya*; the Vedantin replies, inexplicably (*Anirvacyataya iti*). Then the Saiva comes to the point that *Maya* is the same as Brahman, as the Sruti says '*Yata, vaco nivartante*...', which refers to Brahman. Thus Vedantin has to accept *Maya* and *Brahman* as identical, having the power (*sakti*) to assume the form of the world (*Jagat*). The Saiva says that Maya Sakti is innate in Siva (*Vedantin's Brahman*) (*Sva svarupā bhutā*).

The general view of the Vedantins is that the universe is false, having a visionary existence, the cause of which is beginningless *Avidyā* (a sort of ignorance). The Saivas say, if *Avidya* is false, *it* cannot be the cause of this universe which has been existing from times immemorial. How can a thing, which is false and unsubstantial, bring into existence anything full of substance ? It is not clear as to whom this *Avidyā* involves. It cannot involve *Brahman* which is ever pure, all knowledge and all bliss. How it could involve a limited soul, but no limited soul, according to Vedaṇta, does ever exist. It is only the *Brahman* that exists. So Vedaṇta leaves this problem unsolved. In view of the Saivas, the universe is not false. It is real; the universe exists. It always existed in the all-pervading Siva. He has both the transcendental aspect and the universal aspect, as His nature is both Prakasa, pure luminosity and pure consciousness, and *Vimarsa* which is given another name, viz. *Spands* i.e. vibration-like activity. Both aspects of Siva are true in reality. How can, therefore, a person dispense with the universe as something visionary absolutely false ? Every soul is a hero in this divine drama of Siva and has to reach the conclusion of this drama by shaking off his self-imagined ignorance and by realizing his nature. This is the view of Pratyābhijna philosophers of Kashmir.

It has been pointed out that there are two points of view expressed in the Upanisads regarding the nature of Brahman. One is the positive approach according to which it has been preached that everything is *Brahman,—'I am Brahman'*, thou art that, and so on. The other approach is the negative approach, according to which it has been taught that Brahman is not this, he is not that he transcends all the objective elements, and so on. But it is this latter approach which has become popular with the authors of the major works on the Vedanta. This one-sided view the truth popularised by the Vedantins has been responsible for all the criticism made on the Vedanta by other schools of Indian philosophy, like the schools of Ramanujacarya and Vallabhacarya and the Pratyābhijna system.

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CHAPTER 32

कश्मीरी साहित्य के निर्माण में महिलाओं का योगदान

चमनलाल सप्रू

कश्मीरी साहित्य के निर्माण में पुरूषों के साथ-साथ महिलाओं का भी महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहा है। यदि लल्लेश्वरी, अरणिमाल तथा हब्बाखातून की वाणी को कश्मीरी काव्य से अलग कर दिया जाए तो इसमें खोखलापन ही दिखाई देगा। लल्लेश्वरी के दार्शनिक 'वाखों', अरणिमाल के विरहालापों तथा हब्बाखातून के प्रेमलापों से कश्मीरी काव्य-कानन महक रहा है। उपर्युक्त तीन कवयित्रियों के अतिरिक्त भी कई लेखिकायें हमारे साहित्य में हुई हैं जिनका संक्षिप्त रूप में परिचय इस लेख में दिया जाएगा।

लल्लेश्वरी : चौदहवीं शताब्दी में शैवधर्म की देश-भाषा कश्मीरी में व्याख्या करने के लिए लल्लेश्वरी का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ। आप श्रीनगर से सात मील दूर पाँपुर गाँव (पद्मपुर) की रहने वाली थीं। ससुराल में इनको अपने विपरीत वातावरण मिला और सास की यातनायें भी सहनीं पड़ीं। मीरां की भाँति लोक लाज खोकर अपने पिया के प्रेम में संतों के संग में फिरी। उस समय के प्रसिद्ध शैवचार्य सिद्धमोल से दीक्षा प्राप्त करके रहस्यमय पदों का गायन करती रही। आपको कश्मीरी भाषा की आद्य कवयित्री भी माना जाता है। आपने 'वाखों' द्वारा 'अद्वैत' भावना का ही प्रचार किया। उन्हें सर्वत्र ईश्वर का रूप दिखाई देने लगा :—

गगन च'य भूतल च'य' द्यन पवन त राथ
अर्ध चन्दुन पोश पोन्य च'य, च'य सकल तय ला'गिजिय क्याह?

श्री शशिशेखर ने इसका पद्यानुवाद यूँ किया है :—

देव फिर पूजा कैसी आज ?
तू ही पवन, गगन, भूतल तू, तू ही दिन तू रात
तू ही अर्घ्य-पुष्प-जल चन्दन, सब कुछ तू ही तात
व्यर्थ आरती ! व्यर्थ ये पूजा के सब साज
देव फिर पूजा कैसी आज ?

श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता के "सुखदु:खे समे कृत्वा..." के भाव को लल्लेश्वरी ने इस 'वाख' में स्पष्ट किया है ।

पर त' पान यम्य सो'मुय मोन, व'म्य हिहुय मोन द्यन क्योह रात
यमिस'य मन अद्वय सा'' पुन तमिय ड्यूठुय सुरगुरो नाथ ।

[जिसने अपने और पराये को एक समझा, जिसने दिन-रात को एक समझा, जिसकी दृष्टि में द्वैत का भाव मिट पाया ; उसी ने सद्गुरू (शिव) का साक्षात्कार किया ।]

आध्यात्मिक प्रचार के साथ-साथ लल्ला ने सामाजिक वर्णन भी किया है । भिन्न भिन्न प्रकार की पत्नियों का यूं वर्णन किया है :—

केंचन र'न्य छय शिहिज बूनी, नेरख न्यबर शिहुल क'रिव
केंचन र'न्य छय वर प्यठ हूनी, नेरख न्यबर जंग खेयव
केंचन र'न्य छय अदल त' बदल, केंचन र'न्य छय जदल छ्यय ।

(कइयों की स्त्रियाँ चिनार की भांति शीतल स्वभाव की हैं। जिनके साये में विश्राम कर सकते हैं। कइयों की स्त्रियाँ द्वार पर ठहरी हुई कुत्तिया की भाँति हैं जो समीप आते ही टांग काटती हैं कईयों की चुगलखोर और कइयों की छेद वाले छप्पर की भांति हैं।)

लल्ला सिद्ध योगिनी होने के कारण द्रष्टा थीं। उन्होंने कई भविष्यवाणियां की हैं। कलियुग में क्या होगा इसका चित्र प्रस्तुत किया है :—

तेलि मालि आसन तिथी केरन टंग चूंठ्य पपन चेरन स'त्य ।
माजि कोरि अथवास क'रिथ नेरन, दोह द्यन बरन परद्मन सा'त्य ।।

[तब (कलियुग में) विपरीत बातें होगी । नाशपाती और सेब खोबानियों के साथ पक्के हो जायेंगे (खोबानी, सेब और नाशपाती से काफी पहले पकते

हैं)। माँ बेटी एक साथ (निर्लज्ज होकर) निकलकर दिनभर पर पुरुषों के साथ बितायेंगीं]।

आपने समाज सुधारिका के रूप में भी अपने कई वाखों द्वारा समाज में प्रचलित पाखंडों पर काफी चोट किया है।

लल्लेश्वरी के दो, तीन सौ 'वाख' संग्रहीत मिलते हैं और प्रायः प्रत्येक कश्मीरी की जिह्व पर कुछ न कुछ 'वाख' आप पावेंगे।

लल्लेश्वरी के बाद नुंद ऋषि की समकालीन शाम बीबी नाम की एक सूफी कवयित्री हुई है। इनका काव्य कुछ लुप्त प्राय ही है तजकिरा-ए-औलिया-इ कश्मीर (हसनकृत) में इनके जीवन के विषय में इस प्रकार लिखा है :

आप हजरत शेखुलालम (नुंद ऋषि) के खलीफों में से थीं। शादी (सुहाग) के दिन पति के घर जा रही थीं। अकस्मात हजरत शेख को इन पर नजर पड़ी और इस पाकदामन पर एक ऐसी हालत वाका हुई कि डोली से निकल कर आई और हजरत शेख के पावों पड़ गई। हजरत के पाँव पकड़कर जार जार रोई। हजरत शेख ने नसीहत की और समझाया कि चली जाओ। परदा में बैठो।...बोली :

"खाकिस्तर मुझको इश्के खुदा ने बना दिया।
नामूस व नंग शर्म-ओ-ह्य्या जला दिया।"

फिर पुष्कर गाँव में निवास किया और वहीं इनका देहान्त हुआ—हजरत शेख के बारे में इन्होंने एक कविता भी लिखी है। पं० आनंद कौल बाम्जई ने अपनी पुस्तक 'ऐ लाइफ आफ नुंद ऋषि' (*A Life of Nund Rishi*) में शाम बीबी द्यद (Dyed) का वर्णन करते हुए लिखा है कि एक बार नुंद ऋषि को अपने सौतेले भाई चोरी करने के लिए साथ ले जा रहे थे। वह नुंद ऋषि के पास आई और कहने लगी :

आरह् बलन नाग' रादा रोव, सादा रोव चूरन मंज।
मूढ' घरन गोर' पंडिताह् रोव 'राज' हंसा रोव कावन मंज॥

[एक चश्मा एक जलप्रपात में खो गया है, एक संत चोरों में खो गया है। एक विद्वान (पंडित) मूर्खों के घर में खो गया है। एक राजहंस कौओं में खो गया है] इस बात को सुनकर नुंद ऋषि की चेतना जागी थी और वे पुनः साधना में लग गए।

इसके बाद कई सौ वर्षो तक कश्मीरी काव्य में लिखा हुआ बहुत कम

साहित्य उपलब्ध होता है। सोलहवीं शताब्दीं से कश्मीरी कविता में पुन: माधुर्य का संचार होने लगा।

हब्बाखातून ने कश्मीरी काव्य को नये छन्द और नई लय प्रदान की। हब्बा के गीत अब तक लोकप्रिय हैं क्योंकि इन में जन मानस को छूने की शक्ति है। हब्बा एक ग्रामीण परिवार में उत्पन्न हुई थी और चंद'हार अथवा बो'ट'न्योव की रहने वाली थी। बाद में इसके साथ तत्कालीन कश्मीर नरेश यूसुफशाह चक ने विवाह किया था और यह मलिका बनी थी। यूसुफ के साथ कुछ वर्ष रहकर इसने राज सुख भोगते हुऐ अनेक प्रेमगीत लिखे। विधाता ने इसके जीवन में एक विघ्न डाला। यूसुफ़शह को अकबर बादशाह ने धोखे से कैद कर लिया और जीवनपर्यन्त बिहार में कैद रखा।

हब्बा को यूसुफ का विरह सहन न था उसने अपने पति के विरह में अनेक गीत लिखे जिनका कश्मीरी साहित्य में काफी ऊंचा स्थान है :—

च'कम्यो सोनि म्यानि ब्रम दिथ न्यूनखो च'क्योहजि ग़यो म्या'न्य द'य
चख त्राव त' मलाल' बस छूहम म्य च'य च क'याजि ग'यो म्या'न्य द'य।

(तुम्हें मेरी किस सौत ने फुसला लिया है। तुम मुझसे क्यों विमुख हुये? गुस्सा छोड़ो, रूठना छोड़ो मेरे प्राण! तुम ही केवल मेरे हो'।)

एक और गींत में अपनी सहेली की ओर संबोधित होकर कहती है :

वलय व्यस्य गच्छवै ऋद़् लूकव तुजहस रेछे
तिमन ति म्योन ह्यू गछे, वोलो म्यानि पोशो मदनो।

(आ सखी 'ऋछ' साग चूनने जायें, लोगों ने मुझे चिढ़ाना शुरू किया है। उनका भी मेरा जैसा हाल हो जाय। आजा मेरे कुसुम जैसे बाँके मदन आ-जाओ।)

हब्बा के बाद में लिखे गीत में नारी की असहायता और विरह की वेदना स्पष्ठ झलकती है जो सम्भवत: अरणिमाल के अतिरिक्त और कहीं भी कश्मीरी-काव्य में प्राप्त नहीं होती है। हब्बाखातून को कश्मीरी संगीत शास्त्र के इतिहास में भी काफी उन्नत स्थान मिला है। वह गायिका भी थीं और स्वयं राग रागनियों का संपादन करती थीं।

हब्बाखातून के बाद कश्मीरी साहित्याकाश पर एक और तारिका उदित हुई जिनका नाम रूपभवानी (अलक्षेश्वरी 1625 ई० से 1721 ई०) था। आप मूलत: एक सिद्ध-योगिनी थीं। किन्तु प्राय: अपना उपदेश काव्य में दिया करती थीं। प्रो० पुष्प के शब्दों में "उसकी वाणी में वह काव्यात्मक ओज या

माधुर्य नहीं जो 'ललवाखों' की विशेषता है। रूपभवानी के रहस्योन्मुख मुक्तों ने औरंगजेबकालीन कश्मीर की जनता को नैतिक बल से अवश्य प्रेरित किया होगा।" अद्वैत की भावना से भरा इनका एक पद (वाख) देखिये :—

ध्यानस म्ये च्ये त' पानै ब' च अ'थ्य ज्ञानस च्ये म्ये नमस्कार
पानै पान परजान त' पाने व्यच्छै नत' अनजानस व्यच्छी जानिथ कोह।

(ध्यान में मेरे तुम ही हो और स्वयं भी तो मैं तू ही हूं। इसी ज्ञान के लिये तुम्हें और मुझे नमस्कार हो। स्वयं अपने आपको जानो और उस की व्याख्या करो। अन्यथा उस अजान (रहस्यमय) की व्याख्या कौन कर सकता है ?)

इसके अनंतर अरणिमाल का नाम आता है। अरणिमाल कश्मीर के प्रसिद्ध फारसी कवि बहरि-तवील के रचयिता मुंशी भवानीदास काचरू की धर्मपत्नी थी। काफी विदुषी थीं। कई भाषाओं का अध्ययन किया था। इनकी मृत्यु प्रो० हाजिनी के मतानुसार 1800 ई० में हुई। मुंशी भवानीदास के विषय में किवदन्ती है कि वे अरणिमाल के प्रति निर्दयी और निर्मम थे। विरहाग्नि में जलकर अरणिमाल ने तत्कालीन सामाजिक प्रथा के अनुसार घर में ही शर्म और लज्जा के वशीभूत चर्खा कातते हुए शेष दिन बिताए। चरखे की आवाज से स्वर मिलाकर यह विरहिनी गाती है :

गँ गँ मा कर हा यंदरो,
कन' यंन ति फलिलय मल'यो ।

[पल पल तू गूं गूं की आवाज में शिकायत न कर मेरे चरखे, मैं तेरी पुआल की तीली को तेल से भिगो दूंगी।]

श्री शशिशेखर के मत में "महादेवी (वर्मा) की भाँति अरणिमाल भी असीम विरह की गायिका है, अश्रुमय कोमलता ही उसकी कविता का प्राण है। उसकी कविता में अभिव्यक्ति की सुकुमारता और अनुभूति की तीव्रता है।" इनके कुछ पद यहां दिये जाते हैं :—

आशाव्यंदन हंदि आशो वे   गटिमंज हावतम गाशो वे
लासन गीमो राशो वे   प्रारान छसयो आशो वे
म्यतरन हुन्दई ब्योल वविजे   शंतरन ति करि जिन नाशो वे।

(रे आशवानों की आशा। मुझे अंधेरे में प्रकाश दिखाओ। वे सुदूर 'लहासा' गए हुए हैं। मैं उनकी आशा में यहाँ प्रतीक्षा में हूं कोई उन्हें लाए तो।)

अरणि रंग गोम श्राव'नि हिए
कर इये दर्शुन दिये ?...

मैं श्रावन की हिय पुष्प थी, किन्तु अब मेरा अरणि पुष्प (पीले रंग का फूल) जैसा रंग हो गया है। आली वे कब आयेंगे और मुझ (विरहन) को दरस दिखायेंगे)

प्रेमी को ताने देते हुये अनुप्रास की छटा से युक्त इस पद में अरणिमाल कहती है :

हचि लोमनम न्यंद'रि हचि मचि
मछि मछबंद स'निथ गोम
सो'न न्यूनम रचि रचि
वुन्यूब क'रिथ गीम
वनत' व्य'स्य वो'न्य कुस कस पचि ?

(निद्रा में उसने मेरी कलाई को खींचा। मेरी बाँह में बाजूबंद चुभ गया। उसने मेरा सारा सोना छीन लिया और मुझे उन्मत बनाकर छोड़ा। री सखी ! कहो अब किस पर भरोसा किया जाय ?)

1860 ई० के लगभग हजरतबल में एक बीब द्यद नामक कवयित्री हुई हैं उनका एक गीत प्रसिद्ध है कुछ पंक्तियां यहां उद्धृत की जाती हैं :

ब' रुम' रुप' सु पछस ललनावान

शाल'मा'र दहिस प्यट ल'र लंजमय सथ कुष्य क'र्यमस जून डबि सान
तथ मज हजरत यूसुफ छुमै ब' रुम' रुम' छस सु ललनावान।
... ...
हजरत बल'चय बीब दोपमय हजरत सुन्दुय रठ दामान
बडि डल' मंजबाग यार वुछमै ब रुम' रुम' छस सु ललनावान।

(मैं अपने पिया को दुलराती हूं। शालीमार के तट पर मैंने भवन बनाय।। चाँदनी वाली अट्टालिका के सहित सात कक्ष बनाए। उसी में हजरत यूसुफ बैठे हैं। मैं अपने पिया को...। मैं हजरतबल की 'बीब्री' कह रही हूं हजरत का दामन पकड़ ले। बड़े डल में उनका दर्शन किया है। मैं अपने पिया को ..।

पठानों के शासन काल में यहाँ के दीवान पं० दिलाराम (मंदलू) की सुपुत्री राजरे'न्य' (राजरानी) भी कविता किया करती थी इनका विवाह पं महानन्द जू दर के साथ हुआ था। अपने भाइयों के यज्ञोपवीत संस्कार पर आशीर्वाद देते हुए इन्होंने लिखा :—

गून्द' काख, चोंद'काख कूंस छुम नानस
आकाश प्रकाश लसेनम ।
लछि त्रोगुन आय आ'सिन सतरामस
"राजरेन्य" रामस छु अरुनेरो'थ ।

प्रो पुष्प के अनुसार आज से लगभल तीस वर्षं पूर्व कोई तुलसी (या तुल मस्तानी) हुई थी । उनकी एक आध गजल किसी किसी को कंठस्थ है । जिसमें आध्यात्मिक और आधिभौतिक प्रेम के स्वर-संयोग की बहुत ही आकर्षक गूंज सुनाई पड़ती है ।

(अनुवाद) लय ऊंची थी सथ से मेरी अर्थ गजल की पिय जाने
'योग' हमारा रंग चढाये, अर्थ गजल की पिय जाने ।।

आधुनिक समय के प्रसिद्ध कवि श्री दीनानाथ नादिम की माता जी भी कभी-कभी पद्य रचना करती थी । उनके पिता भी कश्मीरी भाषा के कवि थे । इनका प्रभाव पुत्री पर भी पड़ा । पति की मृत्यु के उपरान्त छोटे बच्चों को लेकर वह दुख के दिन व्यतीत करती हुई चर्खा चलाते हुए यूं गुनगुनाती थी :—

मन' कुई म्ये गिलिटूर चूरि चोल मति सोन्त' वनतम कोन' फो'ल।
कमि शायि ब्यूठुम छायि हो'ल 'कव' जान' कमि स'जि मायि वो'ल ।।
क्याहताम जु गोमुत ब्रूजबुलन

(मेरे मन की 'गिलिटूर' छिपके भागा, मस्त बसन्त में वह क्यों न खिला ? किस अदा से छाओं में छिप कर बैठा है । क्या जानूं किसके प्रेम ने उसे फुसलाया है न जाने आज बुलबलों को क्या हो गया है ।)

1947 के बा. कश्मीरी भाषा की जिस गति के साथ उन्नति हो रही है। उसमें कुछ नवोदित लेखिकायें भी साथ दे रही हैं । इन में 'आशाकुमारी आश', 'महमूदा जबीं और 'जवाहरा वानूं' का नाम उल्लेखनीय है ।

आशाकुमारी 'आश' कुलगाम की रहने वाली हैं और गजलें लिखती है। 'महजूर' की इस पंक्ति "बहारस दाद ह्योन छुम शौक सान गुलजार छावुन छुम" के आधार पर आपकी गजल के कुछ अंश यहां प्रस्तुत हैं :—

दिलस मंज यस हसद तय द'य सु लोलुक मस म्य चावुन छुम
गमव युस मोरमुत त'मिसई हयातुक राज बावुन छुम।

... ...

कर'न्य लूकन हन्द्यन दिल' न'ई अन्दर न'व आश छम पैदा
हटा'विथ नाउम्मेदी अज नो'वइ दुनिया बसादुन छुम ।

(जिनके दिल में ईर्ष्या और द्वेष है उनको प्रेमामृत पिलाना है। गमों ने जिसको मारा है उसे 'हयात' का संदेश देना है। लोगों के दिलों में नई 'आशा' का संचार मैंने करना है। नाउम्मदी को हटाकर आज मैंने नई दुनिया बसानी है।)

महमूदा जबीं श्रीनगर की रहने वाली हैं। इनकी गजल के कुछ शेर इस प्रकार हैं :—

हरद'न्य बावन को' रनम पारो यित' नव बहारो छुम अरमान
शर'छस ग'जिम'च चानि अमारो यित 'नवबहारो छुम अरमान।

शरद की वायु ने मुझे बेहाल किया है। हे नवबहार! आ जाओ तो मेरी यह अभिलाषा है। मैं तेरे प्रेम में पिघल गई। हे नवबहार आ जाओ। 'यंबरजल' आज आंसू बहा रही है। 'मसवल' किसी के ध्यान में डूबी है। तेरे प्रेम में शालीमार भी विह्वल है, हे नवबहार आ जाओ।

जवाहरा बानू बारामूला में रहती हैं। इनकी एक गजल जो 'तरही' मुशाइरा' के लिये लिखी गई थी के कुछ शेर यहां प्रस्तुत किये गये हैं:—

फ़ो'लिथ आम'त्य चमन प्रथ तरफ' खो'तमुत जानवारन बोश
दिलन हन्द्य दाग गा'मत्य दूर आमुत लोल वाल्यन जोश
गुलन तय सुंबलन रंग डीशिथ बुलबुलन डल्य होश
छि यिम गमगीन तिमनइ अज खूशी हुन्द राज बादुन छुम

(आज चारों ओर फूल खिले हैं और जानवर मदमाते हैं, दिलों के दाग दूर हुये हैं, प्रेमियों में नवोत्साह छाया है, गुलों और संबलों के रंग देखकर बुलबुल खो गये हैं। जो आज उदास है उन्हें आज खुशी का संदेश सुनाना है।)

("संन्तूर-के स्वर" से साभार)

APPENDIX

KASHMIR HISTORY

(Important Events with dates—Compiled by Prof. K.L. Kalla)

100 A.D. : Kings Kanishka, Harsha, Gonada Gopaditya, Khnikhika etc. ruled one after another. During their rule, Kanispura, and Gupkar were founded. The famous Buddhist Council was held. Nagarjuna lived in Kashmir at Harwan.

500 A.D. : King Toramana ruled.

535 A.D. : King Tajina Hiranya ruled.

550 A.D. : King Mehar Kula ruled. Saivism prevailed. The king inflicted cruelties on his subjects. *Isesvara Loh Stumba, Khandana Vihara,* at Pancha Sir was set up.

575 A.D. : King Pravarasena II ruled. Srinagar city was founded by him. He built Jayendra Vihara.

600 A.D. : King Lakhana Ranaditya ruled. He also built a Vihara.

625 A.D. : King Baladitya ruled. During his time Chinese traveller Heuin Tsang visited Kashmir.

650 A.D. : King Durlabha Vardhana ruled. He conquered Taxila, Rajouri and Poonch.

675 A.D. : King Pratapaditya ruled. Bhima Bhatta wrote 'Ravan Arjuna'.

725 A.D. : King Lalitaditya ruled. He constructed the Martand temple. Chankun was his minister. He led an expedition to Kangra and Kanauj.

750 A.D. : King Muktapida ruled. Vamana Bhata was a famous writer. He wrote 'Kavya Alankara'. He founded the town of Parihas Pura. Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side.

775 A.D. : King Jaya Pida ruled. Damodar Gupta wrote 'Kultini Matal'. He built Parihaspura temple. *Onkongs* visited Kashmir.

800 A.D. : King Lalitapida ruled Kashmir. Ksira Swami wrote his book on Lexicon. Pampur was *founded as Letapura*. He built *Ushkar temple*. Brahmins resorted to hunger strike.

850 A.D. : King Ajaitapida ruled. Kalata Ratnakar wrote '*Spandavitti Narayijaya*'.

875 A.D. : King Avantivarman ruled. Siva Swami Utpaladeva wrote '*Kappahan Abayu Daya*' He founded Avantipur and built Avantipur temple. *Internal consolidation* takes place. Shura was the Minister of Commerce and Trade. Engineer Suyya regulated the course of the turbulent river Vitesta and spanned it with bridges.

900 A.D. : King Sankaravarmana ruled. Vallabhadeva wrote many books, the chief one being *Pratya Bhajan*. He wrote commentaries on Kalidas's works. The towns of Sopore and Pattan were founded. Pattan temple was constructed. *An unsuccessful expedition to Western India was led* which proved a great disaster. 'Begar' system was introduced.

925 A.D. : Queen Suganda Partha ruled. Indu Raja wrote, '*Kavya-Alankara Laghuorth*'.

950 A.D. : King Yeseskara Ksema Gupta ruled. Abhinava Gupta and Kayyata were famous writers.

975 A.D. : King Abhimanyu ruled. Abhinava Gupta and Kshemenarara were famous writers. Bumazuva temple was built.

1000 A.D. : Queen Didda ruled. Somadeva wrote, 'Katha Sarit Sagara'. The town of Diddamar was founded. Tunqas led an expedition to Rajouri. The noted writer Abhimanyu Swami lived during this period. Prayag was built.

1025 A.D. : King Sangrama Raja ruled. Mohd. Ghaznavi attempted invasion of Kashmir.

1050 A.D. : King Ananta ruled. Yogaraja wrote *Parmartha Sara Guresa* temple was built.

1075 A.D. : King Kalasa ruled. Bilhana was a famous writer. Kothar spring was built.

1100 A.D. : King Harsha Uchchala ruled. Ruyyaka was a famous writer. There was an uprising by Damaras. The period was marked by a famine which brought catastrophe for the people.

1125 A.D. : King Sussala ruled. Kalhana wrote '*Alaṅkara Sarvasva*' and the famous *Rajataraṅgini*. Feudal Lords were subjugated.

1150 A.D. : King Jayasimha Purmana ruled. Mankha Mammata was a famous writer.

1175 A.D. : King Jassaka ruled.

1200 A.D. : King Jagadeva ruled.

1225 A.D. : King Raja Deva ruled. Baldimar was founded.

1250 A.D. : Kings Sanqradeva, Ramadeva, and Lachmanadeva ruled in succession. Salar fort was built.

1275 A.D. : King Simhadeva ruled.

1305 A.D. : King Sahadeva ruled. Decay and decline of Hindu rule sets in. General Shah Mir and Renchan are taken in service. Khasha raids take place.

1325 A.D. : King Renchan Shah ruled. Bulbul Lanker and Khanqah were founded. Kotta Rani was his contemporary. Dulchis indulged in plunder and massacre. Bulbul Shah introduced Islam.

1350 A.D. : Sultan Samus-ud-Din ruled. Jaggadar Bhatta was a famous writer. He was followed by Shah-ud-Din. Lalla Ded (Arifa), the prophetess of Kashmir was a famous mystic, saint and poet. '*Vakyyani*' is her famous work. Shamuspora was founded. Jama Masjid was built. Mir Ali Hamdani came to Kashmir.

1375 A.D. : Sultan Qutab-ud-Din ruled.

1400 A.D. : King Sikandar Butushikan ruled. He destroyed temples, imposed 'Jajia' on Hindus. Taimurlam invaded Delhi.

1425 A.D. : King Zain Ul-Abidin ruled, Jonaraja, the famous historian and writer lived in his time. He wrote *Rajataraṅgini II*. Zainapora and Zaina Lank were founded. Badshah canal was constructed. Hinduism was partially restored. The art of Paper making was introduced.

1450 A.D. : In King Zai-ul-Abdin's time Mulla Ahmad was a Persian writer. Zaingir was founded, Zainakadal and Razdhani were built. Shankaracharya temple was repaired. Sanskrit and Persian books were introduced. Shri Bhat was a famous physician and Maulvi Kabir was a good teacher.

1475 A.D. : King Hassan Shah ruled. Sulkantha was a writer. Mir Shamsi Araqi preached 'Saivism'.

1500 A.D. : King Mohammad Shah ruled. Sri Vara wrote *Rajataraṅgini III*. Babar's General attempted invasion of Kashmir.

1525 A.D. : Kings Fateh Shah and Mirza Haider ruled. Mirza Haider wrote *Tarik Rashidi* and *Padyavati*. Shias were persecuted during his rule.

1550 A.D. : King Yusouf Shah Chak ruled. Habba Khatoon was his wife. Some say she was his beloved. He was a brave soldier and also a scholar. Emperor Akbar invited him to Delhi, and arrested him. Later, he was jailed and sent to a Bihar prison, where he died. Kashmir was thereafter captured by Mughals.

1586-1600 A.D. : Akbar ruled Kashmir through Governors. Prajyahatta wrote *Rajatarañgini IV*. A wall round Nagar *Nagar* (modern Hari Parbat) was constructed. Hari Parbat fort was also built. Raja Man Singh was Akbar's commander who had captured Kashmir.

1625 A.D. : Jehangir ruled. Pather Masjid, Veri Nag spring, Seven Sarais and Shalimar Garden were built. There was peace and prosperity everywhere.

1650 A.D. : Shah Jehan ruled. Rupa Bhawani, the mystic sanit, lived and propagated her philosophy. Mughal gardens—Nishat, Chasma Shai and Nasim were laid. Pari Mahal was built for Dara Shikoh. Jama Masjid was repaired. Saffa Kadal were built. Rishi Pir also lived during this period. Haider Malik wrote *The History of Kashmir*.

1675-1700 A.D. : Aurangzeb ruled. The famous writers during this period were—Gani, Dara Shikoh, Ratna Kantha and Narayan Koul. They wrote, *Dewan Gani*, *Upani Kheta*, *Kusumanjali Tika*, and *History of Kashmir*, respectively. Mulla Shah mosque was built. Hazrat Bal Gardens were laid.

1725-1750 A.D. : Governors under later Mughals ruled. The Pathan rule commenced. This was the darkest period of Kashmir history.

1775 A.D. : Timur Khan Durrani ruled Kashmir. There were floods and fire. Hindus were treated mercilessly. Shias were also persecuted. Bimber and Akhnoor were annexed. Amira Kadal was built at Srinagar. New taxes were levied.

1800 A.D. : King Zaman Shah Durrani ruled. Sivopadvaya wrote, '*Vijnana Bhairav*'. Sonal Lanka was built.

1825 A.D. : King Mohd. Shah and Shuja-ul-Malik and Maharaja Ranjit Singh ruled, one after another

Dewan Nandram was appointed Governor of Kabul. Kohi-noor passed to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In 1819 A.D. Sikh army invaded Kashmir, under Birbal Dhar. The first Sikh Governor was Diwan Moti Ram after the defeat of Mohammad Azam Khan.

1850 A.D. : Dogra rule commenced. Maharaja Ghulab Singh ruled. Mohd. Gami and Bhawanidas Kachroo write Books on *Kashmiri* and *History of Kashmir* respectively.

1875 A.D. : Maharaja Ranbir Singh ruled. Poet Parmanand wrote, 'Poems and Songs' in Kashmiri. Gadadhar temple was built at the premises of Amira Kadal palace. A peaceful era commenced. Research was encouraged. Hassan wrote *History of Kashmir*.

1900 A.D. : Maharaja Pratap Singh Ruled. Famous writers of this period were: Poet Krishen Das, Maqbool Shah Kralwari (who wrote '*Gulrez*'), Abdul Rashid Nazim and Rasul Mir Shahabadi, both poets. Means of Modern communication and also Education were introduced.

1925-1947 A.D. : Maharaja Hari Singh ruled. Famous writers of this era were: Pirzada Ghulam Ahmad (Poet), Mahjoor (Poet), Abdul Ahad Azad and Master Zinda Koul. Palaces were constructed. Hospitals were built. In 1931, a popular revolt broke out against the feudal ruler and a political party called *National Conference* was set up and organised for the emancipation of the people of the State. The slogan of 'Quit Kashmir' was raised in 1946. Kashmir acceded to India in 1947 and the tribal invasion of the State took place in the month of October 1947. Popular rule was established the same year under late Mr. Sheikh Mohd. Abdulla as Prime Minister. A Constituent Assembly was convened for drawing a Constitution for the State. In 1950 the

Aha

'Cultural Front' was organised under Mr. G.M. Sadiq, to revive Kashmir's traditional culture. 'Kong Posh' was its official organ.

1953 A.D. : Political events took a turn and Sheikh Mohd. Abdulla was arrested and Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. took over as Prime Minister. He stepped down under the *Kamraj Plan* and was followed by Shams-ud-Din. The theft of the 'Holy Relic' of Prophet Mohammad took place at Dargah Shrine. Both Hindus and Muslims performed penances and took up action for its early recovery. Finally Mr. G.M. Sadiq took over as the Chief Minister. After the death of Mr. G.M. Sadiq, Sayyid Mir Qasim took over as Chief Minister. There was an accord between Mr. Sheikh Mohd. Abdulla and the Central Government. Under this Sheikh Abdulla was reappointed as Chief Minister and he formed the ministry. Law and order were restored. Student agitations came to an end. A Vigilance Department was set up to fight and curb corruption. Plans for the beautification of the Srinagar city were chalked out. Pay scales of Government employees were raised. After the demise of Sher-e-Kashmir Sheikh Mohd. Abdulla, his son Dr. Farooq Abdullah took over as Chief Minister. The subsequent events are of common knowledge to the readers.

Soon after 1947, when popular Government came into being the Cultural Academy of the J & K State was set up. Under its patronage, writers have started blooming and creative art and literature are flourishing. Now Kashmir has its own University, and several Institutions of Higher learning such as the Engineering College, Agricultural College, Medical College, Sheri-Kashmir Post-Graduate Medical Institute at Soura, Radio and T.V. Stations, Cultural centres like Tagore Hall, Sports Stadium, Sher-i-Kashmir Indoor Games Stadium and others. The State has also set up a number of industrial undertakings like a Watch Factory (HMT) at Zainakot and a Cement Factory at Wuyan (Khrew). Several other industrial units are in the process of coming up. In fact Kashmir has taken strides to modern progress.

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